History of Persian
Language and Literature
at the Mughal Court.

نوروز و نوبهار و می و دلبری خوشست

بابرّ بعیش کوش که عالم دوباره نیست

مجكا نه هوا كڇهه هوس مانک و موتی
فقرا هليغه بس بولغو سيد ور پاني و روتي

Lit Crit on Persian

A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE at the MUGHAL COURT

(with a brief survey of the growth of Urdu Language)

Babur to Akbar

Part I & II.

Muhammad Abdul Ghani

HIJRA
International
PUBLISHERS

1983
Hijra International Publishers
Mian Chambers,
3-Temple Road, Lahore

Printed at:
Imprint Offset Printers
8 Abbot Road, Lahore.

A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE GROWTH OF URDU LANGUAGE

[BĀBUR TO AKBAR]

PART I.—BĀBUR

BY

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To

The memory of

the late Prof. E. G. Browne

To

Whose suggestion and encouragement

this work owes its

existence.

PREFACE

Some valuable works exist on the growth of Persian language and literature in Persia, but there was none available hitherto in a concise and connected form of any period in India. The present work, therefore, is an attempt to supply a long-felt need in that direction.

After the publication of Shiblī's " *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*," there was a great move on foot in India to construct its literary history on similar lines under the title of " *Shi'r-ul-Hind*," so as to determine what part India played in the growth of Persian language and literature. Many attempts individual and otherwise were made and scholars selected, but it was, perhaps, deemed an unfathomable ocean, and hence no one even dipped into it.

I, too, had long felt it as a real need that India should have a comprehensive history of Persian language of its own, for although the tongue is the same as in Persia, yet the enormous difference of environment, which influenced the growth of the language in this country, justified a separate and complete record of all its achievements and vicissitudes from the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghaznī down to the very end of the Mughal rule. It is desirable not only as a guide to the people of Persia for the correct understanding of a large variety of terms, colloquial phrases, and compounds, that were introduced into the language from time to time, to suit the country's special requirements, but also it would furnish the youth of India with a handy record of the part played by the people of Hindūstān in the uplift of Persian literature under the patronage of the Muslim kings. An investigation of the circumstances which led to this difference in the common vocabulary, afforded an interesting field of research, and is dealt with under a separate heading in the body of my *Essay*. Here,

it will suffice to mention that the Persian language in our country grew chiefly under the influence of Hindī and local Prakrits ; while in Persia its growth was watched by the Turkish, Arabic, French, and Russian idiom, which naturally gave rise to certain inevitable difference in the use of particular words and phrases, as also of their pronunciation, in India. Nevertheless, by a contrast of the general aspects of the style which obtained in the two countries in the corresponding periods, making all allowance for our colloquial usage, it is readily perceived that the Persian idiom was well kept up in India as late as the 19th century, until the overthrow of Persian by Urdū. Although it has to be admitted that some of our authors in the later Mughal age indulged themselves too much in the artistic display of words, and neglected to cultivate good taste, yet even their composition retained the integrity of Persian idiom. It may also be stated in this connection that the Persian Persian of today, as it appeared to me during my stay in Shīrāz, differs from the classical Persian of Sa'dī's or Hāfiz's time. It is, hence, desirable for every serious student of literature to go to Irān, and profitably spend there a few months to acquaint himself at first-hand with the up-to-date style of modern prose and poetry, which has been considerably affected all round by Turkish idiom, and by Russian, Arabic and French vocabulary.

In these pages I have dealt only with a limited period from Bābur down to the death of Akbar, which is one of the most important periods in the annals of India, and have tried to show the literary activities of people at the Deccan and the Mughal Courts, as compared with those of the contemporary Persia, which coincided with the Safawī period, on a wider and more comprehensive basis than could be found written in any European or Indian language. It seemed to me that the Mughal Court possessing a galaxy of brilliant scholars, deserved a separate and ampler record of its literary achievements. The materials are drawn from widely scattered books

(printed and manuscript), and journals and documents of attested authenticity, written in Persian, Turkī, Arabic or English, and accessible in the University Library, Cambridge, other College Libraries, the India Office, and the British Museum.

I have also embodied in this work the results of my two years' investigations at the M.A.O. College, 'Alīgarh, and the various Oriental Collections in India, such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Habībganj Library of Maulānā Habīburrahmān Khān Shirwānī, the College Library, and the State Library of H.H. the Nawāb of Rāmpūr. All this diverse information that was collected on the main points concerning the growth of Persian literature in the country, I have consolidated and put in this one book within the purview of the general reader. Side by side with tracing the development of Persian language I have also touched on Hindī, which, coming into contact with Persian, gave rise to Urdū, the present *lingua franca* of India. Some casual instances of the latter that could be picked up in Persian, Arabic, and Turkī documents, and the Indian literature dating from Bābur and even before his time down to the death of Akbar. I have carefully traced and noted. The present work, therefore, claims as well to embody some original contributions to the study of Urdū, giving a brief outline of its growth during these three reigns, with a rudimentary survey from the time of Sultān Mas'ūd, Mahmūd's second son and successor. Such an attempt has not been made before by any Indian or European scholar, and there is yet no work available on this subject in any language.

The data supplied in these pages will hence, I hope, be found of some value whenever a history of Urdū language comes to be written on a sounder basis. The only original work there is in that field, was done by the French writer Monsieur Garcin de Tassy who, however, confined himself to the comparatively modern and well-known period.

In short, I have attempted to construct the history of Persian Literature as it existed chiefly at the Mughal Court,

somewhat on the lines suggested by Shiblī's *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, and Professor Browne's more popular volume in the series—"*A History of Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion.*"

It is impossible here to acknowledge in detail my obligation to others. I have endeavoured to do so in my footnotes. Nevertheless, the following gentlemen, I feel, I must single out for more particular thanks. For the suggestion of the subject and valuable hints as to its constitution, authorities, sources of information, and channels of inquiry, I am indebted to Professor E. G. Browne; to my Supervisor, Mr. F. W. Buckler, I owe constant help in the form of advice, guidance, and criticism, both in points of detail and in the general scheme of the work. He also very generously undertook the revision of the manuscript in parts, as they became ready, which virtually enabled me to finish the task in the limited time at my disposal. I have, too, to acknowledge help on certain points from Dr. R. A. Nicholson, Sir E. D. Ross, Prof. Rapson, and Mr. C. A. Storey; also, the unfailing kindness of the Librarians and their colleagues at the Cambridge University Library, the India Office Library, and the British Museum.

One word more before I conclude. I have tried to make the book pleasant reading, and have not suffered it to be mere *dry research*, or what may be called *too scientific*, which affords little attraction for the cultured public; nor is it calculated to benefit the average student of literature inasmuch as it fails to carry him through that field of independent observation and judgment which is essential for the broadening of outlook, and constitutes real scholarship. I have, therefore, attempted to render the work as attractive and useful to my readers as possible without, in the least, impairing its historical value, and have freely discussed the opinions of Persian and English authors, criticising them where necessary, in the light of statistics collected from original sources and records of unassailable authority. The salient feature of this work is that bogus and counterfeit reports about India's

culture and literary advancement, which the alien and apparently less-informed writers accepted without hesitation, have been exploded, and in their stead, simple and unadulterated facts are supplied with their authorities at their back, so as to give the work a place among historical records, and make it a source of truth for the study of the lives of the authors or the progress of literature with which it deals.

My object is to convey to the inquiring mind a correct estimate of the culture at the Mughal Court. Originally I was expected to carry my researches down to the end of the reign of Aurangzēb, but I must confess my inability to do it for want of means and opportunity.

With these words I venture to present this work to the Public with pride and diffidence: pride, because it was my greatest privilege to do it; and diffidence, because of the many shortcomings of which, I am conscious, my work is so full.

CAMBRIDGE

18th April 1925.

MUHAMMAD 'ABDU'L GHANI.

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A

HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

[Bābur to Akbar]

PART I—BĀBUR

CHAPTER I

Bābur,[1] fifth in the line of descent from Timūr,[2] was the second great Mughal conqueror of Hindūstān, after his ancestor, who may well be accredited with the title of the *Founder*, as distinct from that of an *Empire-builder*[3] to which Humāyūn has palpably the best claim.

Bābur—second great Mughal conqueror of Hindūstān after Timūr.

He was born in 888 A.H., and the following verse in Persian was composed by Maulānā Husāmī Qarākōlī, who was of Turkish descent, to commemorate the date of this event:

His birth and accession to the throne of his father.

[4]چوں در شش محرم زاد آں شہ مکرم
تاریخ مولدش هم آمد شش محرم

---

[1] For reasons in support of this spelling, *vide* supra, p. 50 fn. 1.

[2] That this or Tamūr—not Tīmūr—is the correct form, is shown on p. 37 supra.

[3] Cf. Rushbrook Williams' Bābur: An Empire-builder of the 16th Century.

[4] Abul Fazl, Akbar-Nāma, Vol. 1, p. 86. Calcutta, 1877.

Note.—Farishta gives it as follows:—

اندر شش محرم زاد آں شہ مکرم
تاریخ مولدش هم آمد شش محرم

The slight variation of the word 'اندر' makes, however, not much difference. Briggs in his translation of Farishta

His relationship with Timūr—his ancestor,[1] and Aurangzēb—his great-great-great-grandson and the last powerful Mughal ruler of Hindūstān, may well be illustrated by the following table[2] :

Genealogical table of his relationship.

---

puts the verse quite differently, remarking at the same time that it was composed after the death of Bābur to commemorate the date of his demise :—

روز شش محرم زاد آں شه مکرم
تاریخ وفاتش هم آمد شش محرم

There are four main objections to its genuineness :—

(*i*) It does not tally with the original Farishta.

(*ii*) Any attempt to compromise it with the version of Farishta and Abul Fazl is obviously hopeless, since it seems highly improbable for the same man to have been present at both the birth and the death of Bābur with the mature sense and wisdom of composing poems of such literary skill on both these occasions.

(*iii*) The second hemistich is faulty and does not agree with the metre, unless the word وفاتش be mercilessly broken and read as وف آتش which is both unnatural and unsound.

(*iv*) Bābur's death occurred in Jamada, 1, and not in the month of Muharram. (For this information I am indebted to Mr. C. A. Storey of the India Office.)

Briggs's authority, therefore, seems to be defective, and he has misplaced the whole thing.

1 The blood of the two great warriors of Central Asia mixed in Bābur's veins : on his father's side he descended from Timūr who was a Turk ; and on his mother's side from Changez who was a Mongol.

2 For reference see Farishta, Vol. 1, p. 353 and the following ; Akbar Nāma, p. 77 and the following ; and 'Amal-i-Sālih of Muhammad Sālih Kambuh (B. I.), pp. 1–30.'

TIMUR
A. D. 1361—1405

- Mīran Shāh
  - Muhammad Mīrzā
    - Abū Sā'īd
      - Shāh Rukh
      - Khalīl
      - Abā Bakr
      - 'Ulugh Beg
      - Walīd
      - Murād
      - 'Umar Shaikh
        - Bābur (1526-1530)
          - Humāyūn (1530-1556)
            - Akbar (1556-1605)
              - Salīm (Jahāngīr) (1605-1628)
                - Khusrau
                - Parvēz
                - Shāh Jahān (1628-1658)
                  - Dārā Shikūh
                  - Shujā'
                  - Aurangzēb (1659-1707)
                  - Murād Bakhsh
                - Jahāndār
                - Shahriyār
              - Dāniyāl
              - Murād
            - Muhammad Hakīm
          - Kāmrān
          - 'Askari
          - Hindāl
        - Jahāngīr
        - Nāsir
      - Mahmūd
      - Muhammad
      - Ahmad

This is one of the many instances of the popularity of Persian language with the Tārtars who even on private occasions like this seemed to prefer to speak and write in Persian.[1]

After his father 'Umar Shaikh's death, which took place in 899 A.H., by an accidental fall[2] from the roof of a pigeon-house, Bābur succeeded to his father's position as ruler of Farghāna when he was hardly 12 years old.

> " In the month of Ramazān of the year 899 (June 1494) and in the 12th year of my age, I became the ruler in the country of Farghāna."[3]

His assumption of the title of Zahīruddīn.

His father in his lifetime had entrusted to his care the affairs of Andijān which was held as the capital of Farghāna probably since 'Umar Shaikh's time. Thus raised to the throne by the court nobles in 899 A.H., he received the title of Zahīruddīn (the strengthener of the faith), which is probably the first instance of its kind among the Tārtars of the practice of the acceptance of Muslim titles, a practice

---

1 For further illustrations refer pp. 56-57 and p. 99 supra.

2 Note the curious coincidence of occurrence in history that his grandson Humāyūn too subsequently met his death in almost the same manner at Delhi.

3 A. S. Beveridge, Memoirs of Bābur, Vol. 1, p. 1. London, 1921.

4 The practice of making young Princes rulers over territory was quite common in the East. His grandson Akbar is another instance of a youthful king in the line of the Mughal rulers in India. Also cf. Shāh Tahmāsp's accession to the throne of Persia at the age of ten. This practice cuts at the root of the Western contention that in the East sovereignty depended on *de facto* strength.

5 Lane-Poole and Rushbrook Williams have preferred to treat "Zahīruddīn Muhammad" as proper name. For discussion on this point *vide* chapter IX supra.

which was afterwards followed by his successors in India.[1]

His mother Qutluq Nigār Khānam was a scholar's daughter and is believed to have been well educated in Turkī and Persian.[2] His grandmother, Īsān Daulat, too, was a cultured lady who seems to have exercised a more marked influence on him than even his mother:

Culture of his mother and grandmother.

> "She was practically his ruling counsellor, and brought to her grandson much that goes to the making of man."[3]

His own estimate of these women, to whose memory he pays a glowing tribute, is worthy of notice:

> "Qutluq Nigār Khānam, my mother, was Yūnus Khān's second daughter. She was with me in most of my guerilla expeditions and throneless times."[4]

As to his grandmother he says:

> "There were few of her sex that excelled her in sense and sagacity."[5]

---

1 The only possible exception I have been able to discover is the case of Uljaitū who was styled as "Ghiyāsuddīn" on a coin described in the British Museum Collections (Additions to Part 2, p. 102), shown to me by Mr. C. A. Storey of the India Office. There is, however, nothing in it to suggest that the title "Ghiyāsuddīn" was formally proposed by the people and accepted by him on the occasion of his coronation. My own impression is that it was adopted later and entered in foreign correspondence and on coins, not with the idea of introducing it as a custom into his house but simply as a political exigency to impress the Muslims all round favourably and frighten his foes with his prowess as a chosen monarch, or *King-Elect*, who carries with him the sympathy and support of a large section of Muslim population of the Central Asia.

2 Memoirs of Bābur, ut supra, preface.

3 Ibid., p. xxviii.

4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 21.

5 Ibid.

These women appear to have been his chief guides and counsellors in his youthful days, and were, for the most part, with him in his wanderings and outdoor life with which his early years were occupied.[1]

Scholarship of his father, and his learned associates.

In 'Umar Shaikh's circle of friends there were several scholars whose frequent association with him had much to contribute to his culture and refinement. The two most prominent of these were:

1. Yūnus Khān—Bābur's grandfather, and
2. Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh Ahrārī,

whose influence in shaping his literary taste was none the less than his parents. Yūnus was for many years well trained and educated under the tutorship of Maulānā Sharafuddīn 'Alī Yezdī[2]—author of the Zafar Nāma. Other scholar of repute was Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh Ahrārī who in the estimation of Bābur ranked high as a Sūfī, and his memory was held sacred. He seems to have been as much devoted to

---

1 For influence of the zenāna on Mughal Princes cf. V. A. Smith: Akbar the Great Mughal—p. 20 (the influence of Akbar's nurses); and p. 49 (the rule of Māham Anāga—the head-nurse of Akbar). Also, cf. the influence of Nūrjahān over Jahāngīr, and that of Jahān-Arā Begam and her mother over Shāh Jahān [Lane-Poole, Mediæval India, pp. 341-2. London, 1917].

2 Yezd, a cosmopolitan town, seems to have been a hot-bed of political and religious thinking. It has been a stronghold of Jewish, Zoroastrian, Sunnī, Shī'a, and of late Bābī activities. Once, when the Afghāns prepared to attack Yezd in 1724 A.D., the Shī'ā inhabitants fearing that Zoroastrians might evince their long-cherished enmity against them, and join the Afghāns in looting their property, declared war on them, and massacred them in large numbers. From literary point of view Yezd, like Shīrāz or in India Bilgrām, has always been a resort of scholars, and noted for its poets, historians, and thinkers.

Ahrārī[1] as Akbar to Shaikh Salīm Chishtī or the Khwāja of Ajmer.[2]

Sharafuddīn and Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh both were present at the court on the occasion of Bābur's birth, and

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1 Cf. Bābur's taking up the versification of the Khwāja's Wālidiyya Risāla as a means of recovery from illness :

"During the night of Tuesday...... it occurred to me to versify the Wālidiyya Risāla of his Rev. Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh. I laid it to heart that if I, going to the soul of his Rev. for protection, were freed from this disease, it would be a sign that my poem was accepted. By God's grace and His Reverence's favour I was free." (Memoirs of Bābur, Vol. 2, p. 619.)

Also cf. his showing respect to Khwāja 'Abdul Haq, a descendant of Ahrārī, in taking initial step to visit him on his arrival at Āgra, and wait there like a servant :

"Khwāja 'Abdul Haq having arrived...... I crossed the water by boat, went to his tent, and waited on him." (Ibid., p. 641.)

The words "waited on him" clearly suggest that he treats him as his lord and himself a vassal or an inferior.

2 It is significant that all the rulers of Bābur's line from his ancestor Timūr down to Aurangzēb were, without an exception, devout adherents to Sūfīs, and invariably invoked their blessings :

Cf. Timūr's staunch devotion to Shaikh Shamsuddīn and Shaikh Zainuddīn. (Refer pp. 34 & 39 supra.)

Also cf. Akbar's sending his wife, when she was in her family way, to reside at Shaikh Salīm's humble dwelling at Fatehpūr Sīkrī, until the birth of the child whom he named Salīm after the saint's own name.

Also cf. his journeys from Āgra to Ajmēr in fulfilment of the vow he had made to the saint in the event of the birth of an heir.

It is noteworthy that both these saints belonged to the same order of Sūfīs and exercised enormous influence on the religious thought of India. Of the eight schools the Chishtiya order carries even today a much greater influence and popularity than any other school. The latter Shaikh Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī of Ajmēr is revered as the arch saint of India, and his influence on the public mind is ever on the increase, while that of the former has since much dwindled.

Also cf. Aurangzēb's culminating Sūfistic tendencies. He had adopted the garment of a Sūfī, and only drank a little water

partook in his '*aqīqa* ceremony.[1] His name Bābur was chosen for him by the latter,[2] who was the most celebrated spiritual guide of the time. Mīrza Haidar Dughlāt's remark about Yūnus's scholarship is worth quoting :

[3]خان دوازده سال پیش مولانا شرف‌الدین علي
بوده است ، کسب فضائل کرده چنانکه پیش ازوي و
بعد ازوي مثل وي درميان خوانين مغول پيدا نشده
است ‘ چون مولانا وفات يافته است خان از يزد بطرف
فارس و آذربائيجان رفته است......‘ اکثر بکسب روزگار
گذرانيده است ‘ در شيراز توطن اختيار کرده است و
بمجلس فضلاي آنجا رسيده...... در شيراز باستاد
يونس اشتهار يافته –

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and ate a small quantity of millet bread, and slept on the ground with only a tiger skin over him. (Tavernier's Travels, translation V Ball, i, p. 338.) All this he chose from sheer conviction which could be traced to the influence of Sūfistic teachings on him of men like 'Attār Shamsuddīn Tabrīzī, and Jalāluddīn Rūmī in concord with the teachings of the Qur'ān and the traditions of the Prophet. He is a notable example of one who combined 'shariat' with 'tarīqat' in the discharge of his duties as a true Muslim or what may be termed as a Sūfī, and was intolerant of the eccentricities of Sophists and latitudinarians who took undue liberties and transgressed the Law of Islām. In India he is revered as a Sūfī by a large section of Muslims, and his saintly life in the footsteps of Khulafā-i-'Rashidīn,' coupled with his erudition in Muslim jurisprudence, gives him a place among the learned divines of Islām.

1 It is customary to sacrifice a goat or other kindred animal after a week's time from the birth of the child when his name is chosen for him.

2 Haidar Mīrza Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī—B.M. MSS., Or. 157, fol. 121a.

3 Ibid., fol. 59a.

The Khān has remained with Maulānā Sharafuddīn 'Alī for 12 years, and has acquired excellences such as none before him and after him was ever born among the Khāns of Mongols like him. Since Maulānā has died the Khān has gone over from Yezd to Fars and Āzarbyjān, and has spent his time mostly in acquiring knowledge. He has made Shīrāz his home and got access to the assembly of the learned of that place. In Shīrāz he is known as 'Ustād Yūnus.

At another place he says:

بانواع فضائل آراسته بود چنانکه قراءت قرآن[1]
و طبع موزون......بغایت مضبوط داشته......وغایت
فراست و بمتانت رای (پیراسته)

He was adorned with varied accomplishments so that in the reading of the Qur'ān and in his poetic disposition he was very strong and endowed with quickest perception and mature judgment.

Note.—The reason why the B. M. codex is consulted in preference to Elias and Ross's translation of Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī is twofold:

(i) the translation does not tally with the original text in the B.M., *e.g.*, the word ترک has been read as بزرگ, and خطاب or title of Zahīruddīn is taken for his name. Also, the expression آنحضرت ایشان referring in the B.M. codex to Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh Ahrārī, is made to refer in the translation to Maulānā Munīr Marghīnānī (*vide* p. 173 of the Translation). All these discrepancies occurred in the same page in one and the same sentence, and altered the meaning altogether.

(ii) Sir Denison Ross told the writer in an interview that the translation was made in collation with several MSS. Since it was impossible for the writer at Cambridge to approach them all, it was deemed convenient to depend on the B. M. codex.

1 Ibid., fol. 109a.

Thus it may be seen that their constant association with 'Umar Shaikh was certain to have considerable effect in moulding his literary taste which is described by Abul Fazl in the following words :

[1] و آن فرخنده بخت بلند اختر سخن سنج
و سخن گستر بود و توجه تمام به ارباب نظم داشت
و خود هم نظمی می گفت و طبعش در نظم موافق بود اما
پروای شعر گفتن نداشت و غالب اوقات بکتب نظم
و تواریخ توجه میفرمود و در ملازمت او اکثر شاهنامه
میخواندند -

And that of blessed fortune and high star was of literary skill and perception and paid full attention to poets, and himself also composed verses. His mind was in accord with poetry but he did not care to write verse. Most of his time he occupied himself with poetical and historical works and in his presence they used to read the Shāh Nāma.

Nor do his activities appear to have been confined to historical works like the Shāh Nāma, for he seems to have been even more devoted to subjects of religious study than those of epic and romance, which is confirmed by Bābur's statement as follows :

"'Umar Shaikh read the Qur'ān very frequently and was a disciple of His Highness Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh (Ahrārī) who honoured him by visits and even called him son. His current readings were the two quintets,[2] and the Masnawī ; of

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[1] Akbar Nāma, p. 84.

[2] By 'quintets,' are meant the famous Khamsas of Nizāmī and Khusrau.

histories he read chiefly the Shāh Nāma. He had a poetic nature but no taste for composing verses.[1]

From these two statements it becomes clear that he had a literary bent of mind and delighted in the study of useful literature such as books on history and morals. Also, he loved poetry and himself could compose verses. Thus we see that the scholarship of his elders in addition to that of other contemporary scholars in his a ttendance, of whom he was a patron, was primarily influencing his son's (Bābur's) literary taste.

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1 Memoirs of Bābur, Vol. 1, p. 15, ut supra.

CHAPTER II

In fact from Bābur back to Timūr is a line of ancestors of varying but definite literary skill and taste. Timūr, though famous for his lust for conquest like Alexander the Great,[1] was sufficiently a well-informed and a talented person, and certain works written at his com-

Estimate of Timūr's culture and the literary significance of his court.

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[1] Timūr was undoubtedly aspiring to become and be known to the world as second Alexander in his ambition to conquer the "two worlds" and leave behind him a consequent prestige of his name as worthy successor of Alexander the Great. (*Vide* Buckler – 'A New Interpretation of Akbar's Infallibility Decree of 1579,' JRAS., 1924, p. 593.) This is supported by his adoption of the title of "*Sāhibqirān*" in close imitation of "*Zulqarnain*," both of which are derived from the same root and mean the same thing, *viz.*, 'the lord of the two ages.'

The idea is further supported by his very title of "Iskandar ul 'Ahd" (Alexander of the age), by which the learned chroniclers of his court addressed him in their works. A good instance of same appears on fol. 8a, of a contemporary work entitled 'Zafar Nāmai Khāqānī' [for particulars about this work *vide* fn. 1, on the following page] wherein the above title is used for even his son 'Umar Bahādur, and is very significantly coupled with 'Sāhibqirān' reading as اسكندرالعهدوصاحب القرآن (Alexander of the time, and the lord of the two ages). The latter 'Sāhibqirān' is also interpreted as 'the lord of the conjunction of the two planets.' The popular story is that at the birth of Timūr, the stars, Venus and Jupiter, were in conjunction, which is believed to be a very auspicious sign for the child and forebodes his future greatness.

The literal or Greek sense of 'qarn' is "horn," but this does not really affect the case. The important point is to notice the use of the word by Muslim historians and Arab lexicographers who take 'qarn' as meaning "age" or "generation." Hence the expressions قرون اولی and قرون وسطی always signify the "primitive and the middle ages." Cf. قد خلت القرون من قبلي Qur'ān [Ch. 26, RK. 2].

mand[1] and revised and named by himself[2] bear testimony to his culture and enlightenment. The following extract from Zafar Nāma i Khāqānī is a valuable asset of contemporary estimate of his literary taste and capabilities :

[3] سبب تحرير اين سطور آنست كه در سنه اربع
وثمانمايه حضرت امير صاحبقران خلد الله ملكه ...
باحضار بنده داعي نظام شامي مثال داد چون
بشرف بساط بوس مفتخر گشتم بعد از تقديم مراسم
نوازش واكرام ...... اشارت عالي نفاذ يافت به تاريخي
كه جهت آنحضرت وصادرات افعال ايشان از مبداء
ظهور اين دولت الي يومنا نوشته اند وترتيب آن
كما ينبغي بتقديم نرسيده اين بنده بتنظيم و
ترتيب ...... آن مشغول شود اما بشرطي كه از حليه
تكلف ...... مصون ومحروس واز شيوه سحرآرائي
ونقش پيرائي محفوظ ماند چه كتبي كه بدان
منوال پرداخته وبشيوهٔ تشبيه واستعارات آراسته

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[1] E.g. "Zafar Nāma i Khāqānī" of which the only copy known to me is preserved in the British Museum, and may be said to be the basis of the later Zafar Nāma of Sharafuddīn 'Alī Yezdī. The author Nizām i Shāmī was deputed by Timūr to write out in easy Persian an authentic account of his reign and achievements on the battlefield in accordance with the existing material in the shape of State documents and other official and private records kept by his chroniclers (*vide* original text).

[2] The above work on completion, in 806 A.H., was formally presented to Timūr who was gratified to see it done according to his instructions, and approved its style and diction. The title "Zafar Nāma i Khāqānī," which abruptly appears at the end, was chosen by Timūr himself, after it was finished (*vide* fol. 5b, ibid.).

[3] B. M., MSS. Add. 23,980, fol. 6b.

مقصود درمیان فوت می شود ...... لاجوم ......
درین شغل یك رویه شده تاریخ سعیهای جمیل و
کوششهای پسندیده ورایهای ثاقب و تدبیرهای
صائب آں حضرت در وبیاں کردم -

The reason of writing these lines is that in the year 804 A.H. His Majesty Amīr Sāhib Qirān —may God perpetuate his kingdom—gave order to cause the presence of the humble servant called Nizām-i-Shāmī, and when I had the honour of kissing the carpet, after conferring on me his favour and exalting me in rank, his sublime desire manifested itself that a history which they have recorded for His Majesty, containing all his deeds from the beginning of his reign to this our day, and which is not arranged as it ought, this slave should apply himself to its critical examination and arrangement, but on condition that the same should be free and protected from the ornament of artificiality, and the custom of giving charm and spell; for he said about the books written in that style and adorned by similes and metaphors, that their object is lost in the very midst. Necessarily in this occupation, having adopted one procedure, I described therein the chronicles of his beautiful efforts, and agreeable endeavours, and shining judgments, and perfect plans.

Thus we see that he had appointed scribes to remain in his personal attendance to record every important utterance or event of the day,[1] so as to compile and leave to posterity a complete diary of his actions and movements as a second mighty conqueror of the world.

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[1] Cf. the statement by Nizām-i-Shāmī—B. M. MSS., Add. 23,980, fol. 7a.

The Memoirs and Institutes of Timūr.

Some passages from his "Institutes"[1] may fittingly be produced here to depict the state of culture at his court together with his own:

[2] عقلا واصحاب کنگایش وارباب حزم واحتیاط
ومردم کهنه سال بیش بین را در مجلس خاص خود
راه دادم وبایشان صحبت داشتم ونفع یافته تجربها
حاصل میکردم -

Wise men and persons of deliberation and prudence and caution and aged men endowed with foresight, I gave admittance into my chief council, and I associated with them, and acquired benefit and experience.

At another place he says:

[3] از خردمندان معتبر راسخ الاعتقاد که سزاواران
بودند که رازهاي امور سلطنت بایشان سپارم
ومشوره امور سلطنت بایشان کنم طائفه را صاحب
اسرار نهاني خود ساختم -

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1 The so-called Institutes and Memoirs of Timūr have been discredited by Rieu, followed by Prof. Browne, as sham and apocryphal. Whether or no they are genuinely the work of Timūr, is not the point of contention, nor is it of much consequence. As an authentic autobiography they may be forgeries, but as history the work has considerable value, and reflects the true Timūrid character in every page. What is therefore of importance to consider is that whether the work is a later invention, simple and pure, as alleged by the critics, or it has for its basis some original record of Timūr's sayings and doings kept by his scribes. For discussion in support of the latter view see page 19 and the following.

2 Davy and White: Institutes of Timūr, p. 205. Oxford (1783).

3 Ibid., p. 211.

From amongst the trusted wise, of loyal belief, who were worthy of being entrusted with the secrets of administration, and with whom I could consult on the affairs of the state, I made a selected group repositories of the inner secrets.

The most important paragraphs of his "Institutes" are the following :

[1] حکما و اطبا و منجمان و مهندسان که مصالح
کارخانه سلطنت اند برخود جمع آوردم -

Sages, physicians, astrologers, and mathematicians who are the essentials for the machinery of Government, I drew around me.

[2] محدثین و ارباب اخبار و قصص را بخود راه دادم
و از قصص انبیا و اولیا و اخبار سلاطین روزگار و کیفیت
رسیدن ایشان بمرتبه سلطنت و زوال دولت ایشان
ازین طائفه می‌شنیدم و از قصص و اخبار ایشان و گفتار
و کردار هریک تجربها بر میداشتم و اخبار و آثار عالم
از ایشان می شنیدم و بر احوال عالم اطلاع حاصل
می نمودم .... بمشائخ و صوفیان
و عارفان خدا پیوستم و بایشان صحبتها داشتم
...... و امر نمودم که بهر شهری و بلدی مسجدی
و مکتبی تعمیر نمایند -

Traditionalists and possessors of anecdotes and tales, I admitted to my presence ; and from this group I heard the tales of prophets and saints,

[1] Ibid., p. 213.

[2] Ibid.

and the histories of kings and how they arrived at the dignity of empire and the decline of their powers. And from their narratives and histories and the sayings and doings of each of them I gathered experience. And from them I heard the news and events of the universe and acquired knowledge of its affairs. I united myself with the holy and the pious and associated with them. And I ordained that in every town and city they should build a mosque and a school.

[1] وبهر مملکتي شيخ الاسلامي فرستادم و علما
ومدرسان بهر شهري تعين کردم که اهل اسلام
رامسائل ديني وعقائد شرعي تعليم دهند -

And I sent into every kingdom a Shaikul Islām; and I appointed learned men and teachers in every city to instruct the Muslims in the religious laws and traditional beliefs.

[2] مترددين ومسافران هر ملك وديار را تسلي دادم
که اخبار ممالك را بمن برسانند -

To passengers and travellers of every country and province I gave encouragement so that they might communicate to me the intelligence of countries.

[3] سادات و علما را بخودراه دادم و تعظيم ايشان
بجاي آوردم و صحبت با علماي شريعت مي داشتم
ومسائل ديني ودنيوي از ايشان استماع مي نمودم

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1 Ibid., pp. 177–179.

2 Ibid., p. 215.

3 Stewart (Major Charles), Malfūzāt-i-Timūrī, Book 4, Rule ii. London, 1830.

> And I gave admission to the Sayyids and the learned into my presence and treated them with respect; and kept company with the learned in religion and heard from them religious and secular laws.

The significance of this assertion is greatly enhanced when we find the famous Spanish ambassador Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo deputed by King Henry III of Castile, visiting Timūr at Samarqand and giving a vivid life-like picture of his person and the court. Clavijo and his suite reached the borders of Samarqand on 31st August, 1404, and were admitted to Timūr's audience on Monday the 8th of September. The ambassadors handed over the presents which they had brought for Timūr to his orderlies who took them respectfully before the lord. At the gate they met with many porters who guarded it with maces in their hands:

Evidence of the Spanish ambassador.

> "Timūr Bēg was seated in a portal in front of the entrance of a beautiful palace; and he was sitting on the ground. Before him there was a fountain which threw up the water very high, and in it there were some red apples. The lord was seated cross-legged on silken embroidered carpets amongst round pillows. He was dressed in a robe of silk, with a high white hat on his head, on the top of which was a spinal ruby with pearls and precious stones round it."[1]

The Spanish envoys were graciously received and given a preferential place above the Chinese ambassador who too was present from the other extremity of the world.

> "Perhaps the most striking idea to be obtained from their narrative is that the intellectual supe-

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[1] Sir C. R. Markham, English translation of the Spanish Embassy's Narrative of the Court of Timūr, p. 132. London, 1860.

riority of the envoys to the Mughals (which we unthinkingly and at once assume) is less marked than one might have expected. Timūr's officers do not seem specially rude and ignorant as compared with the Spanish gentlemen. Timūr's court was not a mere assembly of officials. It was organised in a fashion as orderly as that of the Spanish King. Timūr himself was a far more important figure than any of his western contemporaries."[1]

This estimate of Timūr's culture based on a foreign neutral authority in piquant contrast with the Arab historian Ahmad bin i Muhammad of Damascus, better known as Ibn i 'Arabshāh who, for reasons of national humiliation and personal privations, *hates* Timūr, agrees to the views held by another contemporary Nizām i Shāmī, author of the Zafar Nāma-i-Khāqānī.[2]

Authenticity of Memoirs questioned by Rieu.

"The authenticity of memoirs," says Rieu, "is open to serious objections."[3] The reasons he gives are briefly summed up as follows:

(1) The suspicious vagueness of the account of the alleged discovery.

(2) The fact that the supposed original has never been produced, nor its existence been confirmed by any testimony; and the absolute silence of Sharafuddīn 'Alī Yezdī.

(3) It included some facts not recorded in the Zafar Nāma, and other trustworthy histories, and omitted events chronicled by all historians.

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1 Holden (Edwards, S.), The Mughal Emperors of Hindūstān, p. 21. Westminster, 1895.

2 *Vide* supra, p. 13.

3 Catalogue of Persian MSS., B. M., Vol. 1, p. 178.

(4) When it was read before Shāh Jahān glaring discrepancies in facts and dates were noticed by the emperor who ordered "the humblest of his servants," Afzal Bukhārī to collate the work with the Zafar Nāma and other standard histories ; to throw out the additions of Mīr Abū Tālib[1] ; supply his omissions ; translate the Arabic and Turkī passages ; and correct the dates which did not tally with those of the Zafar Nāma.

As to the first objection, the following views of William Davy which he expressed in his letter of October 24th, 1779, to Dr. White—then Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford—are worth noticing :

Views in defence.

" It may appear remarkable that the translator should say so little or in fact nothing to prove the authenticity of the valuable work which he was about to translate. It has an extraordinary appearance, I allow ; but I think the following inferences only can be drawn from it ; either that he thought the work itself contained sufficient proofs of its own authenticity, or that at the period when he translated it, it was so well known as not to admit of doubt or dispute."

The second point—why the book was never produced nor its existence confirmed by any contemporary histories—is explained in the note of Afzal Bukhārī himself in his edition of the Malfūzāt :

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[1] Translator of the disputed manuscript of Timūr's Turkī Memoirs into Persian. In his Foreword to the translation he says that in the library of Ja'far Pāshā, ruler of Yeman he met with a manuscript in the Turkī or Mughal language, which on inspection proved to be a personal diary of Timūr. By the kindness of his imperial host he was permitted to translate the MS. into Persian, and on his arrival in India presented it to Shāh Jahān.

[1] وکتابي مرتب و مدون شد و بعد از رحلت انحضرت بجهته تصاریف از منه این کتاب مستطاب از کتابخانهٔ اولاد واحفاد امجاد آنحضرت بممالك روم افتاده زینت افزاي کتبخانه قیاصره و بعضي آن مملکت گردید تا بحسب اتفاقات حسنه گذار میر ابوطالب که از موضع تربت خراسان بود بولایت روم و عربستان افتاد و بشهریمن وارد گشته بصحبت جعفر پاشاء حاکم یمن رسید ...... روزی در هنگام عرض کتابخانه جعفر پاشا این کتاب شریف بنظر میر ابوطالب در آمد -

And a book was compiled and written, and after the death of His Majesty (Timūr), this honourable book, due to the vicissitudes of time, having passed from the library of His Majesty's sons and nephews to the countries of Rūm, adorned the libraries of the Kaisers and some other rulers of that country, till through the good chances, Mīr Abū Tālib who was from Turbat in Khurāsān happened to travel to the countries of Rūm and Arabia, and having arrived in Yeman he associated with Ja'far Pāshā, ruler of Yeman. One day during his inspection of Ja'far Pāshā's library this auspicious book came within sight of Mīr Abū Tālib.

Besides this, an allusion too, which seems to have escaped the notice of Rieu, occurs in the work of Nizām i Shāmī, the contemporary historian of Timūr, who declares that a record of Timūr's life, that had

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[1] Malfūzāt i Sāhib Qirān, B.M. MSS., Add. 16, 686, fol. 2b.

been written by his scribes but was not properly arranged, was then in existence. Afzal Bukhārī, perhaps, did not know the work of Nizām i Shāmī, at all, since, like Abū Tālib's manuscript, there was probably only one copy of it existing at that time, which is now in the British Museum. This evidence is of the greatest significance as corroborating internally the confused manner in which various events were originally placed in Abū Tālib's work under one heading, mixing personal with official, and domestic with military, with dates clashing with one another. Afzal Bukhārī simply put this account into proper order, and the dates in their due places.

The third contention that the work does not tally with the known existing chronicles is a point rather in support of its genuineness than its falsity, and calls for special attention. Its contents widely differ from, and go much further than, those of the commonly known works of the contemporary authors, and seem in all probability to have for their basis some Turkī manuscript of Timūr's life and actions written by his scribes.[1]

[1] The same view is held by Beveridge in his article on Timūr, which appeared on p. 201 of JASB., 1921. He observes:

"Though I regard Abū Tālib's work as a forgery, it is quite possible that he may have had access to some records of Timūr's sayings and doings. His book is certainly not entirely a reproduction of Sharafuddīn, since in one place he makes a reference to Nizāmuddīn Shāmī's Zafar Nāma, for in the account of the taking of Baghdād he refers to the fact of Nizāmuddīn having been the first person who came from the city and did obeisance to Timūr. This is not mentioned by Sharafuddīn, but occurs at p. 99b of Nizāmuddīn as quoted by Rieu.

Also, Shāh Jahān wanting to give advice to his son Aurangzēb when he was in charge of the Deccan, sent him an extract from Abū Tālib's work about the duties of a

As to the fourth reason, it may well be said that Shāh Jahān who could be a no better judge of the authenticity of the work than Abū Tālib himself, thought it fit to bring the book up to the standard and taste of the time, of which it naturally fell so short, being a record of unconnected events and miscellaneous orders issued from time to time by Timūr, and kept by him only as a memorandum.

Abū Tālib's additions, which he, under the circumstances, had thought fit to make, to give the book a polish, and to fill in the gaps, were equally undesirable and uncalled for, and if Shāh Jahān ordered their exclusion from the work, it was but a laudable act to keep the beauty of the original intact. But it is a pity that he did this only to make room for his own additions through his tutor Afzal Bukhārī who can hardly be said to be any better antiquarian than Abū Tālib himself.

We are also informed by Rieu that certain Arabic and Turkī passages (which were either omitted or not quite well translated by Abū Tālib), were ordered by Shāh Jahān to be re-translated. This statement, while showing that there existed some previous work, wherein occurred the Turkī and Arabic passages which were not quite fully grasped even by Abū Tālib, suggests that the original Turkī manuscript, or a copy thereof, was brought to India, and was there before Shāh Jahān; or

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governor. These instructions alleged to have been sent by Timūr and sent by Shāh Jahān for the edification of Aurangzēb do not appear in Zafar Nāma. They profess to have been issued by Timūr in 794 to his grandson (Pīr Muhammad's son) Jahāngīr when he was appointed to the charge of Cābul, Qandhār, and India. The Zafar Nāma I, 558, Bib. Ind. edition gives the appointment of Pīr Muhammad and the names of the officers who were to assist him but does not give the instructions."

how could he detect the discrepancies in the body of the translation, and order for the Turkī passages to be re-translated ?

Professor Browne's view.

Professor Browne suspects that the work is a production of Abū Tālib himself:

> " Of the existence of this Turkī original no evidence, whatever, exists, save this statement of Abū Tālib's, and it appears much more likely that he himself compiled the Persian work in imitation of Bābur's authentic autobiography, with the aid of the Zafar Nāma, and other histories of Timūr.[1]

Its critical test.

As to this remark the following points should be borne in mind :

(1) The contents of Abū Tālib's translation widely differ from those of the Zafar Nāma and other histories of the reign of Timūr. The former is a personal diary of his actions ; while the latter is a chronicle or history of important events of his reign, so that the one does not much help the other.[2]

(2) There appears no reason whatever for Abū Tālib to undertake the unremunerative task of compiling a work in imitation of Bābur's autobiography with a view to attribute it to one who was dead and gone three hundred years past.

(3) If Abū Tālib with such historical insight was really capable of producing a work like the Memoirs of Timūr, he would not have, on the

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1 Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion, p. 184.

2 For illustrations *vide* p. 26 supra. Also, see p. 22 fn. 1, for reasons why Abū Tālib's work could not be compiled with the aid of the Zafar Nāma.

one hand, suffered to diminish his fame by giving himself out as a mere translator, and profit on the other, by not writing a work for a living monarch like Shāh Jahān himself.

Charles Stewart also, in reviewing the work says :

> "It is written in a careless manner, occasionally obscure, with much tautology, and some repetitions but without any break in detail, except at the commencement of a new year evidently evincing that the art of bookmaking has not been employed to set it off, and that it is a translation from some language less polished than Persian."[1]

> "The noble simplicity of diction, the plain and unadorned egotism that runs through the whole of the Institutes and History of Timūr, are peculiarities which mark their originality and their antiquity also."[2]

In addition to these critical remarks of the learned orientalists there are some cogent reasons against the wholesale rejection of the work :

(1) The minuteness of detail and the wonderful accuracy with which many a trivial anecdote which has passed the notice of contemporary historians, is described, the spots marked, and the personages connected with them carefully mentioned by name and with characteristic

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1 English translation of Malfūzat Timūrī, Preface, p. vi.

Note.—Charles Stewart was Professor of Oriental Languages at the College of the East India Company in Bengal.

2 William Davy's letter of October 4th, 1779, to Dr. White, then Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford.

familiarity, cannot possibly be the work of mere imagination, or even a subsequent compilation after a lapse of three centuries from the reigning Timūr.

(2) Abū Tālib's work for its material is not indebted to the available histories of the reign of Timūr, owing to the basic difference of the former in its topic and trend of thought from the latter.[1] It seems too much to ascribe these to the imagination of a man of Abū Tālib's ordinary ability with no genius or ambition, whom history knows no more than as a mere translator of a historical work like this, and that too, according to Rieu, full of discrepancies, and not a good work at all.[2]

(3) Most of the theories and points of personal character described in the disputed Institutes, *e.g.*, the respect which Timūr invariably professes to show

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[1] *E.g.* cf. the regulations for the punishment of his relations and other kinsmen as distinct from the common culprits; the rules concerning the subsistence of his children and other dependents; his conduct and behaviour towards the learned, the Sūfīs, the strangers, the friends and the foes; his sundry orders to his high officials, domestic servants, courtiers and personal attendants; account of his visits to, and granting gratuities for, the holy shrines in conquered lands, and there receiving in audience their custodians without omitting to mention them by name; plans for the arrangements of squadrons, and different tactics of war employed under different circumstances appearing at the moment: assessment and collection of tolls and indemnities from conquered territories; and similar other things. These measures are of a nature that none but an experienced monarch of high ambition could possibly lay down.

[2] Cf. the statement:

> "His translation, however, was not free from errors . . . . . when it was read before Shāh Jahān, glaring discrepancies in facts and dates were noticed . . . " (Cat. of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, Vol. 1, pp. 178-179.)

to the learned and the Sūfīs[1]; his fury for offences of breach of faith and slackness in duty and his logic for meeting same with capital punishment[2]; his ambition for the subjection of the East and the West, perceptible throughout his career in every

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[1] Cf. (i) Generous reception by Timūr of the learned Shaikh Nūruddīn 'Abdur Rahmān who was sent as an envoy from Sultān Ahmad Jalā'ir of Baghdād: also, of Mullā Sa'duddīn Taftāzānī who was summoned by Timūr to his capital—Samarqand—and shown respect and favour by him.

(ii) Nizām i Shāmī, author of Zafar Nāma i Khāqānī, also was favourably received by Timūr, and deputed to compile the history of his reign.

(iii) Majduddīn Ibn-i-Ya'qūb Fīrūzābādī, compiler of the famous Arabic lexicon, the Qamūs, also received favours from Timūr.

Similarly a good many instances are found of Timūr, paying respect to the Sūfīs and the holy men of the time such as Shaikh Zainuddīn Abū Bakr, Shaikh Nūruddīn, and Shaikh Sadruddīn Ard Belī, etc.

[2] Cf. Timūr's order for severest punishment for petty faults of servants deputed to attend on the Spanish ambassador and his subsequent pardon at the latter's intervention. (The Spanish Embassy's Narrative, ut supra.) Also, cf. his reason for the general massacre of the people of Isfahān :

اصفها نرا مسخر و بر اهل اصفهان اعتماد کردم قلعه را بدست ایشان سپردم و ایشان داروغه را که بر ایشان تعین کردة بودم با سه هزارا کس از سپاة من بقتل آوردند منهم حکم بقتل عام اهالي اصفهان کردم -

I captured Isfahān, and I trusted in the people of Isfahān; I delivered the castle into their hands, and they slew the Dārūgha whom I had placed over them with 3,000 men of my army: I also commanded a general slaughter of the people of Isfahān. (Tuzuk-i-Timūrī attached with Qābūs Nāma, p. 40. Tehrān, 1285 A. H,)

deed; and his keeping rigid discipline in the army and other departments; are but accomplished facts fully supported by external evidences, and are genuinely Timūrid in character.

Literary phase of his life.

Sir C. R. Markham reviewing Timūr's intellectual life says:

"The name of Timour is frequently coupled with that of Zengīs Khān; yet the latter was a rude barbarian while there is evidence that the former was versed in all the knowledge of his age and country. The period between the reign of Timour and that of Bāber was the golden age of Toorki literature, and the Princes of the great Conqueror's family wrote poetry in their own tongue, and gave liberal encouragement to its cultivation amongst their courtiers. 'Alī Shīr Beg, the Grand Vizier to Husein Meerza, composed a poem in the Toorki language, and also wrote a complete prosody; and other Ameers at the courts of the Timouride Princes, while they studied the literature of Persia, did not neglect the poetry of their native Toorki. Timour seems to have given the first impulse to these intellectual pursuits amongst his countrymen, and though he owes his fame chiefly to his conquests, it would be unfair to forget his liberal encouragement of learned men."[1]

Beveridge in his recent article on Timūr begins with the following lines:

"Timūr was long treated as if he was another Prester John. People knowing little or nothing about him, but eager to give news, invented all

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1 Introductory Life of Timour Beg, prefixed to the Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, p. 11.

sorts of stories, and palmed them off on the public."[1]

Though Timūr was not formally educated, yet he had like Akbar a keen literary sense and humour.

His literary wit.

His alleged conversation with the poet Hāfiz, his contemporary, is worth recording as an evidence of his wit and perception :

[2] حکایت کنند که وقتی که سلطان صاحبقران
اعظم امیر تیمور کورکان انار الله برهانه فارس را مسخر
ساخت در سنه خمس و تسعین و سبعمایة و شاه منصور
را بقتل رسانید خواجه حافظ در حیات بود کس
فرستاد و اورا طلب کرد، چون حاضر شد گفت من
بضرب شمشیر آبدار اکثر ربع مسکون را مسخر
ساختم و هزاران جای و ولایت را ویران کردم تا
سمرقند و بخارا را که وطن مالوف و تختگاه من است
آبادان سازم تو مردك بیك خال هندوی ترك شیرازی
سمرقند و بخارای مارا میفروشی درین بیت که
گفتهٔ بیت :—

اگر آن ترك شیرازی بدست آرد دل مارا
بخال هندوش بخشم سمرقند وبخارارا

خواجه حافظ زمین خدمت را بوسه داد , گفت
ای سلطان عالم ازان نوع بخشندگی است که بدین
روز افتاده ام، حضرت صاحبقران را این لطیفه خوش
آمد , پسند فرمود وباو عتابی نکرد بلکه عنایت
ونوازش فرمود -

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1 "Apocryphal Memoirs of Timūr," JASB., p. 201. 1921.

2 Daulat Shah, edited by Prof. Browne, p. 305. London, 1901.

It is related that at the time when Sultān Sāhib Qirān, the great, Amīr Timūr Gūrkān, may God illumine his soul, subjugated Fārs in 795, and slew Shāh Mansūr, Khwāja Hāfiz was living. Timūr sent for Hāfiz through some one. When Hāfiz appeared, Timūr said to him :

"I have by the stroke of the glittering sword subjugated the greater part of the habitable quarter of the globe and devastated thousands of places and foreign kingdoms so that I may bring to Samarqand and Bukhārā, my dear native land and the seats of my throne, prosperity. Thou worthless fellow art selling my Samarqand and Bukhārā for one black mole of a Turk of Shīrāz in this verse that thou hast composed :

If that Turk of Shīrāz would take my
heart into his hand,
I would give away Samarqand and Bu-
khārā for his black mole."

Khwāja Hāfiz kissed the ground of his Majesty's presence and said : "O emperor of the world, it is due to this sort of generosity that I have fallen to such miserable days."

To Sāhib Qirān this witty remark came agreeable, and he appreciated it, and showed no anger to Hāfiz, but entertained him with kindness and favour.

Prof. Browne puts little faith in this anecdote on the ground that Hāfiz was at that time dead for four years.[1]

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1 Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion, p. 188.

Note.—This story though not corroborated by any source other than Daulat Shah, whose authority is weak, is popularly believed to be true. The one great point about it is that it is current at Shīrāz—the place of their meeting. It seems therefore possible that the event might have taken place but at different date,

Even if not historically true, the assignment of this event to Timūr at Samarqand and in Persia itself is significant.

Another evidence of his perceptible wit is to be found in the anecdote of his meeting and conversation with Daulat, the famous blind bard of India:

[1] امیر تیمور جب ہند میں آیا تب یہہ بات کہي
کہ میں نے لوگوں سے یوں سنا ہے کہ ہند میں راگ
خوب ہوتا ہے ' کسي گویے کو بلاؤ تو میں سنوں -
ایك اندھا کلاونت بڑا لسان پادشاہ کي خدمت
میں آن حاضر ہوا ' ایسا گایا جو امیر تیمور سنکر
بہت خوش ہوا ' اندھے کو پوچھا تیرا نام کیا ہے ؟
کہا دولت — پادشاہ نے کہا کیا دولت بھي اندھا ہوتا
ہے ؟ جواب دیا جو اندھا نہ ہوتا تو لنگڑے کے پاس
کیوں آتا ؟ -

اس جواب سے امیر بہت راضي ہوا اور انعام جو
دیا چاہتا تھا اس سے دوچند دیا -

Amīr Timūr when he came to India said: "I have heard from people that there is good music in India. Let some musician be sent for, so that I may hear him sing." A blind bard who was very eloquent in his speech entered the royal presence, and sang so well that Amīr Timūr was very pleased to hear him. He asked the blind, "What is your name?" The blind replied "Daulat" (wealth). The king said: "Is wealth also blind?" The bard rejoined: "If it had

[1] Shakespeare (John), Muntakhabāt-i-Hindī, Vol. 1, p. 15. London, 1817.

not been blind, why should it have come to the lame?"[1]

> The Amīr was well pleased with this rejoinder, and rewarded him with twice as much as he had originally intended to do.

Again, there is a famous story in Persian which is so very popular and didactic in value that it has found expression in almost every living language of the East, but few probably know that its author is Timūr, and the story originates from him. Holden quoting from the Institutes says:

> "The famous anecdote of the ant does duty in a Persian life of Timūr. 'I was once forced,' says he, 'to take shelter from my enemies in a ruined building. To divert my mind from my hopeless condition, I fixed my eyes on an ant which was carrying a grain of wheat up a high wall. Sixty-nine times it fell to the ground, but the insect persevered, and the seventieth time it reached the top. The sight gave me courage and I never forgot the lesson.'"[2]

His religion.

There seems to be an impression among English writers that Timūr was a Shi'a. Some even go so far as to accuse the Muslim historians, especially of the Sunnī sect of partiality and concealment of fact, if they write or call Timūr a

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1 Cf. a similar story of wit (quoted on p. 29, supra) ascribed to him in Persia, while this is attributed in India. If neither of them is historically true, they are important at least in one aspect as showing the trend of public opinion about him in both the countries.

2 The Mughal Emperors of Hindūstān, p. 32, ut supra.

Sunnī.[1] This idea is probably based on the latter's conduct in waging war against the Ottoman Sultān. If so, it is erroneous. The strongest evidence of his adherence to the Sunnī creed, as also that of his army, is to be found in his own letter which he addressed to Sultān Bā Yazīd of Turkey. The following extract from it is reproduced from Ferīndūn Bey's State papers :

[2] مسلماني و اظهار شعائر اسلام و اعتقاد بمذهب
اهل سنت وجماعت داشتن ما اظهر من الشمس است
و نوکران آنجناب سنقور و احمد مدتی درمیان
لشکر های مابوده اند و مشاهده کرده اند که آثار
مسلمانی درمیان لشکر ما بچه حیثیت است -

Our faith in Islām and our display of the tenets of Islām and our belief in the Sunnī creed are more luminous than the sun : and your servants Sanqūr and Ahmad, have long stayed in the midst of our armies and have witnessed to what extent are the symptoms of Islām visible in our soldiery.

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[1] Cf. Beveridge :

"And what Timūride and what Indian Muhammadans would not act in the same way? They would all feel bound to support the glory of the house of Timūr. I, therefore, would pay little attention to the opinion of Muhammadans . . . Far more value is to be attached to the opinions of disinterested scholars as Sachau and Rieu. Sunnīs, we are told, *even assert that Timūr was an orthodox Sunnī, though he really was a Shi'a.*" (JASB., p. 204, 1921.)

Also cf. Holden :

"Timūr was of the sect of '*Alī, a Shi'a.* I have not been able to trace when his descendants assumed the Sunnī faith. But Bābur declares that (1500) in his time the inhabitants of Samarqand were all orthodox Sunnī." [The Moghal Emperors of Hindūstān, p. 33.]

[2] Munsha' āt i Salātīn i ' Usmānī, Vol. 1, p. 131.

Also, his inherited tendency in putting implicit faith in the tombs of Sūfis, and invoking their blessings, is a practical proof of his Sunnī orthodoxy. Of the numerous instances one is quoted by Mīrzā Haidar Dughlāt from the Zafar Nāma as follows :

[1] امیر حسین و حضرت صاحبقرانی با تمامی لشکر
از آنجا کوچ کرده متوجه حرار گشتند و درآنجا
بمزار متبرك خواجه شمس‌الدین ...... درآمدند واز
روح مقدس آن بزرگ دین استمداد همت نمودند -

Amīr Husain and Sāhib Qirān with all the army, having marched from that place turned towards Harār, and in that place came to the blessed tomb of Khwāja Shamsuddīn, and from the sacred soul of that holy religious personality solicited help and courage.

The disputed Memoirs and Institutes of Timūr are full of such instances, but the passages which relate to his visits to the mausoleums of Imām Muhammad Abū Hanīfa and the most revered of saints, Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Gīlānī, are most important, as fixing the particular school to which he belonged:

[2] و امر نمودم که بروضات ومزارات اولیا واکابر دین
مواضع وقف کنند و فرش وآش و روشنائی مقرر نمایند
...... و بروضه قدوةالاولیا شیخ عبدالقادر ومقبره
امام اعظم ابوحنیفه رحمة‌الله علیه ومزارات دیگر
مشایخ واکابر و بزرگان دین که در بغداد آسوده اند
از برای هر یك علی قدر هم مواضع و دهات کربلا
و بغداد وغیره وقف نمایند -

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1 Tārīkh i Rashīdī, B. M. MSS. Or. 157, fol. 20a.

2 The Institutes of Timūr, pp. 357-358, ut supra.

And I ordained that for the support of the shrines and the tombs of the saints and great religious personalities, lands should be assigned ; and carpets, food and light be provided. And for the shrine of the leader of the saints Shaikh ' Abdul Qādir, and for the mausoleum of the great Imām Abū Hanīfa (May God's mercy be upon him) and for the sepulchres of other saints, and distinguished men of the holy religion, who take rest in the city of Baghdād, for each of them, according to their ranks, the lands and the villages of Kerbalā and Baghdād and other districts should be assigned.

Again, he always respectfully mentions the four representatives of the Prophet (Khulafā i Rāshidīn) with equal recognition, and with no invidious distinctions. Thus, on one occasion when he recovered from serious illness he said :

[1] من صحت یافتم واسپ وگوسفند بسیار تصدق
دادم وبحضرت پیغمبر صلی الله علیه وسلم صد شتر
نذر کردم وبخلفای راشدین پنجاه شتر نذر گرفتم -

I gained health and gave away many horses and goats in charity ; and a hundred camels I gave in honour of the holy Prophet (May peace and blessings of God be upon him), and fifty more in honour of the illustrious Khulafā. (Khulafā-i-Rāshidīn.)

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1 The Malfūzāt i Sāhib Qirān, C. U. L. MSS., Add. 302, fol. 20a.

At another place he mentions the first two of them, and seeks their intercession, a thing which no adherent to the Shī'a faith would do :—

[1] من همواره شفاعت خلفاي اولين دريوزه گري
نمودم و برآدميان كرم گستر شدم -

I constantly begged the intercession of the first two Khulāfā and became benevolent to mankind.

His name "Timūr," according to his own alleged version was derived from a verse of the Qur'ān, and was given him by a saint, Shaikh Shamsuddīn[2] whom Timūr's parents visited only a week after his birth :

His name Timūr derived from a verse of the Qur'ān.

[3] پدرم امير طراغاي بمن خبرداد ...... روز عقيقه
ترا بخدمت شيخ شمس‌الدين بردم ايشان دران
وقت اين آيت تلاوت ميكردند قوله تعالي ءامنتم

1 Memoirs of Timūr, p. 30.

2 The existence of this saint and Timūr's implicit faith in him have been confirmed by contemporary authorities like the works of Nizām i Shāmī and Sharafuddīn 'Alī Yezdī, but none except Abū Tālib's translation mentions the anecdote of Timūr's naming, and the belief of his parents in the Sūfīs, which (as has been shown on p. 7) is a characteristic feature of the house of Timūr : Cf. the presence of the celebrated Ahrārī at Bābur's *'Aqīqa*, and his choosing the name 'Bābur' for the child. Also cf. Humāyūn's and Akbar's devotion to the saints. The latter named his two sons Salīm and Dāniyāl after the names of the saints. Akbar's birth had taken place in adverse circumstances and consequently there appears no saint on the scene. It transpires that the privilege of choosing the name usually belonged to and was exercised by a high priest, and considered by the Turks to be a good omen.

3 The Malfūzāt i Sāhib Qirān, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,686, fol. 12b.

من في السماء ان يخسف بكم الارض فاذاهي تمور،
فرمودند که ما این پسر را تمورنام نهادیم، بمناسبت
لفظي تمور -

My father Amir Tarāghāy related to me, "On the day of thy *'Aqīqa* ceremony, I took thee to Shaikh Shamsuddīn. He was at that time reciting this verse of the holy Qur'ān : 'Are you sure that He who dwelleth in Heaven, will not cause the earth to swallow you up, and then it shall shake?' The Shaikh then said, 'We have named your son Timūr, in fitting appropriateness with the word 'Tamūr.'"

His titles.

The various titles of Timūr are the following :

1.	ابوالمنصور Abul Mansūr	... [Father of a Victor]
2.	ابوالفتح Abul Fath	... [Father of aperture or victory]
3.	صاحبقران Sāhib Qirān	... [Lord of the conjunction of Venus and Jupiter ; or Lord of the two Ages]
4.	خسرو Khusrau	... [Name of a celebrated king Cyrus or Chosroes]
5.	امیر Amir	... [A commander; a guide of the blind.[1] It is a vassal term]
6.	بادشاه Pādishāh	... [A vassal king][2]

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[1] Qāmūs, p. 453.

[2] F. W. Buckler, A New Interpretation of Akbar's Infallibility Decree of 1579, JRAS., October, 1924, p. 600, n. 3.

7. سلطان Sultān	...	[A ruler of an independent territory. It has the force of an adjective rather than a noun]
8. گورکان Gūrkān or Kūrkān.	...	[A son-in-law: usually a conqueror's title]
9. ابوالغازي Abul Ghāzī	...	[Father of the victor in a holy war, or, head of victors in *jihād*]
10. گيتي ستان Gītī Sitān	...	[Conqueror of the world]
11. اسكندرالعهد Iskandarul 'Ahd		[Alexander of the Age]
12. خاقان Khāqān	...	[Title of the emperor of China]

In addition to these, there are a few others like 'Nāsir-i 'ibādullāh' 'Mu'izz i aulia'ullāh'; 'hāfiz'i bilādullāh' 'dīn panāh' 'jahān panāh,'[1] etc., all of which have been treated as mere adjectives to his name, in being not much recognised by the public.

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[1] The last two 'dīn panāh' and 'jahān panāh,' have been adopted by subsequent Mughal historians for their sovereigns in India. Cf. Abul Fazl using 'Jahān panāh' for Akbar:

والتجا آوردن او بدرگاه جهان پناه است -

[Akbar Nāma, Vol. 11, p. 123]

It is significant that Humāyūn gave the name of 'dīn panāh' (which was his own title) to a fort which he got built at Delhī. Cf.

پادشاه بربالاي منود بام كتبخانه كه در قلعه دين پناه دهلي ساخته بود برآمده الخ-

[Badāūnī, Vol. 1, p. 465.]

His first title 'Abul Mansūr' was conferred upon him by his Pīr or spiritual guide: Shaikh Zainuddīn Abū Bakr, who wrote to him in one of his letters as follows:

1. Abul Mansūr.

پیرمن بنوشت که ابوالمنصور تیمور در امور
سلطنت چهار امر را بدست بگیر -

My Pīr wrote to me saying, "Abul Mansūr Timūr, take in thy hand four things in the administration of the state."

The second Abul Fath has a better recognition than the first. He was styled as such by Sultān Bā Yazīd of Turkey in one of his letters as follows:

2. Abul Fath.

بخدمت اعلحضرت والامرتبت جهان پناه
عظمت دستگاه ابوالفتح تیمورالخ -

3. Sāhib Qirān.
4. Khusrau.
5. Amīr.
6. Pādishāh.
7. Sultān.
8. Gūrkān. (Khaqan)

In another letter he is styled as Pādishāh, Khusrau, Sāhib Qirān, Sultān, and Gūrkān:

[1] از جناب همایون و پادشاه ربع مسکون خسرو
صاحبقران سلطان سلاطین‌جهان امیر تیمور
گورکان خلدالله تعالي ایام عزه و اقباله -

Of all these titles six entered in the Khutba that was read in his name at Balkh, Herāt, Shīrāz, Baghdād, and other places:

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1 Ibid., p. 130.

[1] من حکومت دارالسلطنت هرات رابوي (ءملك غياث الدين) نا مرد کردم ووی علم سلطنت مرا بوسيده بدرون شهرهرات برده خطبه سلطنت مرا برمنابر مساجد دارالسلطنت خراسان انشانمود که دعائیه: اللهم انصر جیوش المسلمین این کانو اوحیث کانوا من مشارق الارض الي مغاربها من میامن الدولة السلطان الاعظم الاعدل عالیشان امرتیمیورصاحبقران خلدالله ملکه الخ -

[2] روز عید ماه رمضان المبارك به مسجد جامع خطه بلخ در آمدم ...... خطیب به منبر بر آمد وبعد از حمد خدا ونعت ومنقبت خلفاي راشدين رضوان لله تعالي عليهم اجمعين خطبه راموشح بنام من ساخت بدين عبارت كه: اللهم انصرجيوش المسلمين وسرايا هم اين ماكانوا وحيث ماكانوا من مشارق الارض الي مغاربها من ميامن الدولة السلطان الاعدل الاعظم والخاقان المعظم المكرم السلطان العاليشان الخاقان ابن خاقان ابي منصور امير تيمور كوركان خلدالله ملكه الخ -

The title of Pādishāh was, as a matter of fact, formally taken by him on his conquering the various kingdoms of Fārs, 'Irāq, Khurāsān, Egypt, Syria, and India:

[3] و در ملك ايران وتوران و روم و مغرب و شام......
وهندوستان پادشاه شدم -

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1 Malfūzāt i Sāhib Qirān, fol. 103, ut supra.

2 Ibid., fol. 81.

3 The Institutes of Timūr, p. 162, ut supra.

And in the countries of Persia, Tūrān, Rūm, the West, Syria, and Hindūstān, I became Pādishāh.

The fifth "Amīr" is his popular title by which he is best known in the East. Nearly all the great chiefs of Central Asia both in and before his time were distinguished with this title. He too was commonly known among his people by this epithet and himself recognised it as his privileged title:

Amīr.

[1] دریں وقت شخصے حاجي محمد نام که درمیان ترکمانان بوده مرا بشناخت وفریاد برآورد که امیر تیمور است -

At this time a person by name Hājī Muhammad who was among the Turkomāns recognised me and cried out, "Here is Amīr Timūr."

[2] از ایشان پرسیدم که بهادران شما چه کسانند آنها گفتند که ما نوکران امیر تیموریم که بطلب امیر میگردیم و او را نمي یابیم و من بدیشان گفتم که من هم یکي از نوکران امیرم خوب است که شما را رهبري کرده به امیر رسانم -

I asked them, "Whose brave soldiers are ye?" They replied, "We are the servants of Amīr Timūr, and wander in search of the Amīr and do not find him." And I said to them, "I too, am, one of the servants of the Amīr. Good it is that I guide you to the Amīr."

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1 Tuzūk i Timūrī, attached with Qābūs Nāma, p. 12, ut supra.

2 Ibid., p. 17.

The eighth Gūrkān (or Kūrkān) is a very popular yet peculiar sort of appellation which has not been satisfactorily explained by historians. Some attribute it to his passion for hunting Gūr (or wild ass), while others try to explain it away by referring to a small village of that name which they say was his birthplace. There is yet a third interpretation given by a Persian commentator as follows:

8. Gūrkān.

[1] چون امیر تیمور خواهر امیر حسین را داشت اورا
گورکان گفته یعنی داماد و این لقب بر او ماند -

Since Amīr Timūr had for his wife, the sister of Amīr Husain, he was called Kūrkān meaning 'son-in-law,' and this appellation remained on him.

The ninth "Abul Ghāzī" was the outcome of his campaigns against the non-Muslims of India. It was given him by his Pīr (spiritual guide) just before he set out on his avowed mission to India.

9. Abul Ghāzī.

[2] چون برین عزیمت کمر بستم به پیر خود حضرت
شیخ زین الدین ابوبکر تایبادي نوشتم که من بعزم
غزاي کفار هندوستان مصمم شدم والتماس فاتحه و
دریوزه همت مي‌نمایم وایشان بر حاشیه خط من نوشتند
که ابوالغازي تیمور ایده الله تعالي معلوم باشد... الخ

The tenth meaning 'conqueror of the world' is a title given him by his chroniclers—both of the contemporary and the later periods—and confirmed by Shāh Jahān's autograph.[3]

10. Gītī-Sitān.

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1 Ibid., p. 11.

2 Malfūzāt i Sāhib Qirān, fol. 220, ut supra.

3 A. S. Beveridge, Humāyūn Nāma, Autograph Note of Shāh Jahān, p. iii. London, 1902.

This too, like the above, was conferred upon him by his court historians who believed him to be the right successor of Alexander the Great, as conqueror of the East and the West.

11. Iskandar ul 'Ahd.

This has been already noticed (on p. 39 supra), as being read in the Khutba. In the East it has ever been recognised as being the exclusive prerogative of the mighty emperor of China. Timūr in his ambition to conquer the East and the West was resolved to start on a campaign against China to win for himself this proud title as well. This was perhaps his last ambition in life which remained unfulfilled, owing to his death, which overtook him just half way to Chinese conquest, when he had crossed the river Sīhūn (Jaxaretes) at the head of a large and well-equipped army. It transpires that he loved this title most, as there is evidence of his personally asking a historian of his court to name the history of his conquests, that was just finished and presented to him, after the title "Khāqān."[1]

12. Khāqān.

It is significant that of all his variegated titles none is similar to what his successors took in India, *e.g.*, Bābur's title of *Zahīruddīn* (the Strengthener of the faith), or Humāyūn's title of *Nasīruddīn* (Defender of the faith), or Akbar's title of *Jalāluddīn* (Glory of the faith), or Jahāngīr's title of *Nūruddīn* (the Light of the faith), or Shāh Jahān's title of *Shihābuddīn* (Meteor of the faith), or that of Aurangzēb, *Muhīuddīn* (the Rejuvenator of the faith), and so on. But Abul Fazl and later historians use them as epithets for their own sovereigns.

His titles do not resemble with those of his successors in India.

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1 Zafar Nāma-i-Khāqānī, B.M. MSS., Add. 23, 980, fol. 5b.

The period of Timūr has been one of the most glorious epochs in history for the growth of Persian literature and the nursing of the best poetry. Prof. Browne in his notices of Persian poets and scholars that were contemporary with Timūr has almost exhausted the material available in that branch.[1] Some prominent figures are the following :—

Persian literature in Timūr's age.

Poets	Prose-writers
1. Ibn-i-Yamīn.	1. Shams-i-Fakhrī.
2. Khwājū Kirmānī.	2. Mu'īnuddīn Yezdī.
3. Salmān Sāwajī.	3. Shaikh Fakhr-ud-dīn Abul 'Abbās Shīrāzī.
4. Hāfiz Shīrazī.	4. Nizāmuddīn Shāmī.
5. Kamāl Khujandī.	5. Sharafuddin 'Alī Yezdī.
6. Maghribī.	6. Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī.

This list shows the extensive field of knowledge which they covered as historians, philosophers, mystics, and poets, and the widespread area which they came from. They exercised enormous influence in Persia, India, and Turkey, and some of them like Ibn-i-Yamīn, Salmān, and Hāfiz, are of world-wide fame, whose poetry has made a great impression upon the West.

Bābur led in all five expeditions to India. Of these the last in which he succeeded in conquering Delhi

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1 Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion, Book II, pp. 157–375.

Note.—For detailed information as to these and several others who were among the chief contributors to the Persian literature of the Timūrid period, one could do no better than read through the pages of Prof. Browne's History of Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion [Chapters IV and VI].

was the most important. It was in imitation of Timūr[1] that Bābur had set his foot on the soil of India, and entered Delhi as a Conqueror.

Bābur set his foot on the soil of India in imitation of Timūr.

Whatever credit may be due to Bābur for his conquering Hindūstān and establishing an empire, yet inasmuch as it had no solidarity and was soon afterwards so completely wrecked by Shēr Shāh Sūr—the rival claimant to the imperial throne—that for some years to come there was no trace of the Mughal dominance left anywhere in India. Humāyūn conquered Hindūstān afresh and re-established the Mughal empire which endured till its overthrow by the English under the East India Company. It would therefore be quite fair to accredit the person who rebuilt the empire on its ruins with the title of the "Empire-builder"[2] as distinct from the 'Founder' or the 'Conqueror' which may rightly belong to his predecessors.

Humāyūn not Bābur—the builder of the Mughal empire.

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1 Timūr, after the subjugation of Delhi and his triumphant entry into the city, with the title of Pādishāh fully confirmed and his name read in the Khutba, had left India to subdue Bā Yazīd, the Ottoman Sultān, who being defeated and humbled died a captive in his camp.

2 Cf. Rushbrook Williams' Bābur : An Empire-builder of the 16th Century.

CHAPTER III

Persian foreign to Turks.

Persian, which was not the native tongue either of the Turks or of the Mongols but only an acquired language, had, in the course of time, become so very popular among the Turkish and the Mongol races, during their stay in Central Asia, that it was freely used by the Princes of the house of Timūr even in supersession of their own native tongue—the Turki dialect. Timūr's descendants of the line of Bābur played an important part in the establishment and adoption of Persian as their own literary tongue, as also their sole medium of expression on all public and private occasions.[1] As a consequence thereof the Turki dialect fell rapidly from popularity at court, and was completely lost sight of even as early as the reign of Humāyūn whose own father had, on the contrary, made a strenuous effort to keep up the prestige of his native dialect shoulder to shoulder with the acknowledged Persian. His partiality for Turki was but natural. He was fresh from Turkistān, and his connection with India began only towards the close of his career and was the result of anti-Persian feeling among the Mughals.

He was the last point of connection between Turki and Persian and a singular exception to the almost

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[1] *Vide* supra, p. 1; Maulānā Husāmī Qarakōlī's Persian verse commemorating Bābur's birth. Also cf. pp. 50—58 and chapters under Humāyūn and Akbar.

recognised practice of the literati of his time in leaving his Memoirs in Turki dialect.[1]

'Umar Shaikh's scholastic influence on Bābur.

As has already been described 'Umar Shaikh together with his wife had considerable influence in moulding Bābur's literary taste.

The chief books which the Shaikh took pleasure in reading were the following :[2]

1. The Qur'ān.
2. The Masnavī of Maulānā Jalāluddīn Rūmī.
3. The Shāh Nāma of Firdausi.
4. The Quintets of Nizāmi and Khusrau.

His religion.

The second is the main work on Sūfism, which of the two great sections in Islām, the Sunnīs alone uphold and revere. "He was a Muslim of the Hanafī school, adhering to the doctrines of Imām Muhammad Abū Hanīfa, and pure in the faith, not neglecting the five prayers."[3]

This prevailing spirit had considerable influence on the development of Bābur's taste.

Bābur's early education.

In the traditional fashion of his ancestor Timūr, Bābur received no systematic education except that provided him by nature, or what he could receive from his parents and other scholars of the time in his frequent associations with them.

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[1] It seems highly probable that Bābur had a definite dislike of Persian on account of political associations, but his son and grandsons were of just opposite temperaments. They retained a knowledge of colloquial Turki and adopted Persian as their official and literary language. There were, no doubt, political reasons at the back of their choice owing to their Persian followers, as also the existing literary atmosphere in India.

[2] Beveridge, Memoirs of Bābur, p. 15.

[3] Ibid.

His school days were, of needs, spent at home, and in the nomadic and ambitious adventures with the only opportunity of learning his lessons from time and experience.

His tutors (or Atāliqs).

His tutors, that could be traced to his youngest days, were, four prominent individuals coming next to his parents in shaping his character and literary taste. They were :

1. Shaikh Mazīd[1]
2. Khudā i Birdī[2]
3. Bābā Quli,[3] and
4. Maulānā ' Abdullāh, surnamed Khwāja Maulānā Qāzī.[4]

The last-named, who is described by Bābur in some detail, traces his lineage from ancestors renowned for their piety and learning.

Favourite study.

His favourite readings were, in his ancestral fashion and taste, the following :

1. The Qur'ān[5]
2. Sa'dī's Rose-gardens[6]
3. Firdausi's Shāh Nāma[7]
4. Nizāmī's and Khusrau's quintets[8]
5. Sharafuddīn ' Alī Yezdī's Zafar Nāma[9]
6. Abū 'Umar Minhāj-al-Jauzjānī's Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī.[10]

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1 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 27.
2 Ibid., p. 53.
3 Ibid., p. 27.
4 Ibid., p. 89.
5 Ibid., p. 425.
6 Bābur Nāma, fols. 121 ; 169 ; 259b.
7 Ibid., fol. 314b.
8 Ibid., fols. 25 ; 348b ; 2826.
9 Ibid., fol. 291b.
10 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 479.

His grasp of Persian, Arabic, and Turki.

Although he wrote and left his principal work, the Autobiography, in Turki and not in the accepted literary medium, Persian, a point in his conduct generally ignored by historians in their judgment of his relation with Persia, he was sufficiently learned to be an accomplished poet in Persian. The extent of his knowledge in Arabic cannot be fixed with any degree of precision, although there is internal evidence to the effect that he not only understood it correctly but had also a refined taste for same. There are many verses of his in the Turki Dīwān[1] interspersed with Arabic phrases and quotations from the Qur'ān. In his Memoirs too, he frequently used Arabic phrases, proverbs, and verses from the Qur'ān, just to suit the occasion and purpose of his requirements.

While his Memoirs written in prose furnish evidence of his mastery, not only as a writer but also as a historian, over the language of his native country, his verses in the Turki Dīwān bear testimony to his poetic vein, and establish him as a poet.

> "In Persian, the language of culture—the Latin of Central Asia—he was an accomplished poet; and in his native Turki, he was master of a pure and unaffected style alike in prose and verse."[2]
>
> "His autobiography is fit to rank with the Memoirs of Gibbon and Newton. In Asia it stands alone."[3]

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1 Sir E. Denison Ross, Facsimile of Dīwān-i-Bābur Pādishāh, Plate 6, JASB., 1910.

2 Lane Poole, Bābur, p. 10.

3 Beveridge, Calcutta Review, 1879.

He composed his metrical versions under the pen-name Bābur.[1] The bulk of his poetry has a touch of Sūfīsm, and emanates from beliefs kindred to those cherished by his father. The ideas expressed therein are mostly drawn from the mystical teachings of Sa'dī, Hāfiz, and his own contemporary Jāmī. In Persian, more particularly, his verses in elegance, style, and originality, are quite up to the level of those of the average Persian mystic poets. It is worth while to reproduce here by way of sample some of his hybrid poetry from the Rāmpūr codex, and his Memoirs.

His pen-name and nature of poetry.

On the eve of the battle of Pānīpat, when his anxiety was great, due to facing a foreign people to whose customs, language, and mentality, he was quite a stranger, he recited off-hand a Persian verse which he composed on the spot, portraying the picture of his foe and his own anxious thought :

[2] پریشان جمعي و جمعي پریشان
گرفتار قومي و قومي عجائب

Our disturbed band with a disturbed mind,
In the midst of a people quite unfamiliar.

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1 Cf. his Turki verse in the Dīwān :

اشبولارکم یارین دیدی بابر * بیلکا سین کیم مفصل ایماندور

It also supports the contention why the correct form is Bābur and not Bābar. Also cf. the rhymed chronogram " فتح بابر بهادر " [Bābur Nāma, fol. 135a] ; and a Persian verse by a contemporary poet :

خدیو کامران پر تو در * ملاذ ملک وملت شاه بابر

2 Bābur Nāma, fol. 264.

With the simplicity of style and the language it is a specimen of rhetorical expression, embracing the beauties of three distinct figures of speech.[1]

On another occasion when the formidable fort of Chandīrī was conquered, he composed off-hand a chronogram with a play on the word 'chand' and 'harb':

[2]بود چندي مقام چنديرى ✵ پرز كفار ودار حربى خرب
فتح كردم به حرب قلعه آن ✵ گشت تاريخ فتح دار الحرب

For a while the place 'Chandīrī' was,
Paganful and polluted was the seat of the hostile camp,
By fighting I conquered its fort,
The date was found in "Fath i Dār-ul-harb."

A similar instance of his ready wit is to be found in a Turki verse of his composed in reply to Khwāja Kalān's Persian verse. When the Khwāja disgusted with his prolonged stay in India took leave to go back to Cābul, he had inscribed before departure the following couplet on a wall in Delhi:

[3]اگر بخير وسلامت گذر ز سند كنم
سياه روي شوم گر هواي هند كنم

---

1 The figures contained in it are 'ايهام' 'ترصيع' and 'مراعات النظير', which were favourite with the poets of the middle and the later ages.

2 Farishta, p. 390, ut supra.

Note.—Bābur Nāma, fol. 355a gives the first hemistich as follows:

بود چنديري مقام چنديرى

This is evidently a misprint being both out of metre and without sense.

3 Bābur Nāma, fol. 296a.

If safe and sound I cross the Sind,
My face be blackened if I desire for Hind.

"It was," says Bābur, "ill-mannered in him (Khwāja Kalān) to compose and write up this partly jesting verse while I stayed in Hind. If his departure caused me one vexation, such a jest doubled it. I composed the following off-hand verse, wrote it down, and sent it to him":—

[1] يوز شکردی بابر کریم غفار
بردي سنكا سند وهند و ملك بسيار
ايسيق ليغي غه کرسنكايوقتور طاقت
سادوق يوزيني كو راي وسانك غزني بار

Bābur, give a hundred thanks that the Merciful, the Forgiver,
Has given thee Sind and Hind and widespread kingdom,
If thou canst stand their heats,
If thou sayest, "let me see the cold region," there lies Ghaznī.

Another instance of Bābur's off-hand Persian poetry is to be found in the following:

"Qlandar, the footman," says Bābur, "was sent to Nizām Khān in Biāna with royal letters of promise and threat; with these was sent also the following little off-hand verse":

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1 Ibid.

[1] با ترك ستيزه مكن اي مير بيانه
چالاكي و مردانگي ترك عيانست
گر زود نيائي و نصيحت نكني گوش
آنراكه عيانست چه حاجت به بيانست

Do not fall out with the Turk, O Mīr of Bayāna,
The skill and bravery of the Turk are known;
If thou dost not repair soon and listen to advice,
That which is evident what need is there to describe?

On several occasions he quoted from other poets also whose verses he could fittingly recall to memory. One such instance is noticed in his speech to his rank and file, before giving battle to Rāna Sangā, when he appears to have recited the following verses to spur the zeal of his soldiers on to action :

[2] چو جان آخر از تن ضرورت رود
همان به که باری به عزت رود
سرانجام گیتی همین‌ست و بس
که نامي پس از مرگ ماند بکس

When the life from the body is perforce to depart,
Better is that it should quit with honour ;
This is the end of the world, and it is all,
That a name after death should survive the individual.

Of his mystical poetry which seems to be the net result of the primary influence of his father's beliefs, he being a constant reader of the great mystic Jalāluddīn Rūmī's Masnawī, the following quatrains may be quoted:

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[1] Ibid., fol. 298a.

[2] Badāūnī, Vol. II, p. 340. Calcutta, 1869.

در هواي نفس گمره عمر ضايع كرده ايم[1]
پيش اهل الله ز افعال خود شرمنده ايم
يك نظر با مخلصان خسته دل فرما كه ما
خواجگي را مانده ايم وخواجگي را بنده ايم[2]

We have wasted our lives in the vain pursuit of the astrayed heart,
We are ashamed before the godly people in consequence of our misdeeds ;
Cast a look at the sincere broken-hearted, for we,
Have lived for the Khwāja, and are slaves to the Khwāja.

اخلاص و عقيدهٔ تو روشن شده است[3]
حالات و طريقهات مبرهن شده است
حايل چو نماند زود برخيز و بيا
دلخواه تو تربيت معين شده است

Thy sincerity and faith have shone bright,
Thy ways and manners laid plain,
When the obstacle remained not (between our meeting) soon get up and start,
To thy heart's content thy training (*i.e.*, spiritual teaching) is appointed.

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1 Dīwān-i-Bābur Pādishāh, p. 16, ut supra.

2 Reference to Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh Ahrārī, one of the greatest Sūfis of the age (dead at this time) for whom Bābur had a deep veneration.

3 Dīwān-i-Bābur Pādishāh, p. 22, ut supra.

Note.—This speech is by way of reply put into the mouth of the supposed beloved, the Khwāja, to whom an appeal had been previously made.

Farishta mentions his name with respect, and says that he wrote poetry both in Turki and Persian. The following is a beautiful verse representing him in his liberal vein of a poet and a typical lover of life ;

[1] نو روز و نوبهار و می و دلبری خوشست
بابر بعیش کوش که عالم دوباره نیست

The new year, the spring, the wine, and the beloved, are pleasing,
Enjoy them Bābur, for the world is not to be had a second time.

Here, there is an evidence of his composing poetry after the metre and rhyme of Khwāja Hāfiz's ode of which the first line runs as follows :

[2] بحریست بحر عشق که هیچش کناره نیست
آنجا جز آنکه جان بسپارند چاره نیست

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1 Farishta, Vol. 1, p. 394.

2 Dīwān i Hāfiz, p. 18. Calcutta.

Note.—It might be observed that in composing this verse he was very probably thinking of 'Umar Khayyām's following quatrain, in the second line of which exactly the same idea is expressed :

لب بر لب کوزه بردم از غایت آز
تا زو طلبم واسطهٔ عمر دراز
لب بر لب من نهاد و می گفت براز
می خور که بدین جهان نمی آئی باز

In great desire I pressed my lip to the jar,
To inquire from it how long life might be attained ;
It joined its lip to mine and whispered,
" Drink wine, for to this world thou returnest not."

[E. H. Allen, Ruba'iyāt-i-'Umar Khayyām, p. 219. London, 1891.]

The ocean of love is an ocean which has no shore,
No other course is open but that they should
surrender their lives there.

It may be mentioned here that in his metrical version of Khwāja 'Ubaidullah Ahrārī's Wālidayya Risālā[1] he has used the same metre in which Jāmī wrote his poem entitled 'Subhatul Abrār.'[2]

Bābur was a fluent Persian speaker and used Persian in India in his private talks of which one is reproduced here by way of sample: The occasion is that when one of his officers by name Khalīfa showed alarm at the defeat of a section of troops near Lucknow, to him Bābur spoke thus :

Bābur and his officers using Persian in their private talks.

[3] تردد و دغدغه بیوجه است هر چه تقدیر
خدااست غیرآں نمیشود چوں ایں کار درپیش است
ازیں مقوله دم نمیباید زد و فردا بقلعه زور آوریم
بعد ازاں هرچه رو بدهد بهبینیم -

There is no ground for anxiety and alarm ; nothing other than what is ordained by God would accrue. When this task is before us, not a breath should be indulged in such talks. And tomorrow we shall bring pressure on the fort. After that whatever makes its face we shall see.

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1 'The Parental Treatise' written in Persian by Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh Ahrārī at his father's request: whence the title. The subject-matter is the sayings and deeds of the great Sūfīs.

2 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 620.

3 Bābur Nāma, fol. 334a.

His Turk officers too who accompanied him to India employed Persian in their private conversations, as noticed below :

" While we were at the border of the spring," says Bābur, " Tardī Beg said again and again ":

[1] چون جاے خوش کردہ ایم نامے می باید ماند

Since we have enjoyed the beauty of the place, a name ought to be settled for it.

Bābur also recalled certain proverbial verses and maxims which he used with appropriateness fitting in with the occasion. Once when he escaped the effects of the poison served in his dish through the device of Ibrāhīm's mother, he said :

[2] رسیدہ بود بلاے ولے بخیر گذشت

An evil had arrived but passed off peacefully.

At another place he said :

[3] مرگ با یاران سور است

To die with friends is a nuptial.

His courtiers too were in the same habit, as is noticed in Bāqī Beg's discourse with Bābur :

[4] دہ درویش درگلیمی بخسپند و دو پادشاہ در
اقلیمي نگنجند (سعدي)

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[1] Ibid., fol. 328a.
[2] Ibid., fol. 306b.
[3] Ibid., fol. 194b.
[4] Ibid., fol. 121a.

Ten dervishes can sleep under one blanket but two kings cannot find room in one clime.

He further quoted the lines :

نیم نانے گر خورد مرد خداے
بذل درویشاں کند نیم دگر
ملک اقلیمي بگیرد پادشاہ
هم چناں در بند اقلیم دگر (سعدی)

If a man of God eat half a loaf,
He gives the other half to a dervish ;
Let a king grip the rule of a clime,
He dreams of another to grip.

CHAPTER IV

On his entry into Hindūstān, though quite a stranger to the language of the Indians and utterly contemptuous of their customs, yet he could not wholly escape the influence of the Indian tongue and civilisation. What is most striking is that Hindī vocabulary to which he professed complete ignorance till before the battle of Pānīpat, saying:

His knowledge of Hindī and Urdū, and their admixture with Turki.

> " Our affair was with a foreign tribe and people; none knew their tongue, nor did they know ours," [1]

so much influenced him within a short space of time that he learnt hundreds of Hindī and Urdū words which he freely used in his Memoirs. A few of the many that he carefully retained in his memory are reproduced below from his Turki autobiography :

نیلا گاؤ – کالا ھرن – ھاتھي – پاني – روتي – قلاچ
مور – سپاهي – انبلي – چمگادر – مهوا – گھڑیال –
آمله – گولر – کروندا – جامن – کمرك – توتا –
رتي – ماشه – توله – سیر – لن گوتي – گھڑي – کیوڑا –
سنگتره – چرونجي – راجه – پنکھا – لڑي – امرت پھل –
دوپهر – دولي – پان – کیلا – گلهري –

Strangely enough he did not stop at this interpolation alone but went a step further in using Urdū words with purely Urdū verb in a Turki metrical composition, a fact which confirms the previous existence of the Urdū language in howsoever crude a form, as a spoken private tongue of

A curious instance of Urdū verse.

[1] Memoirs of Bābur, pp. 469-470 [Cf. the original Turki text] : –
غریب قومي بیله ایل ینگ ایشي تو شوب ایدي ني پرالر نیک تیل لري
نی بیلور ایدوک ني الر پزنیک بیتمیزني –

the common folk. It was not, however, till before the reign of Shāh Jahān that it received its polish and the universal recognition of the literate people who did not think it then derogatory to use it in their private correspondence. Within the next thirty years that followed its popularity as a language of culture became so great that it grappled with Persian which tottering before its new rival of hybrid birth soon lost its ground of official favour. The verse referred to is reproduced below :

[1] مجکا نه هوا کچهه هوس مانك و موتی
فقر اهليغه بس بولغو سيدور پاني و روتي

Sir Denison Ross's remark about this verse is worth quoting here from his published facsimile of Bābur's Dīwān. He says :

> "I will not discuss here the matter and manner of these poems, as I hope on a future occasion to publish an English translation of the contents of this little book : I cannot, however, refrain from calling attention now to what is perhaps the most curious verse in the collection, namely, which occurs on page 20 of the text. Here we have the uncommon combination of Turkī and Urdū in one and the same line."[2]

An Urdū verse composed and recited before Bābur on the battle-field of Pānīpat.

A still more significant instance of Urdū is to be found in the following verse that was composed and recited by a commoner before Bābur to commemorate his victory on the battlefield of Pānīpat :

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1 Dīwān-i-Bābur Pādishāh, Plate XVII, ut supra.

2 Introduction to Dīwān-i-Bābur Pādishāh, p. iv.

[1] لشکر سلطان ابراهیم اگرچه لا انتها بود اما اکثر
سپاه و امرا بیدل و رنجیده بودند غرض درمیان
هر دو پادشاه درمیدان پاني پت برآمدن آفتاب
جنگ عظیم واقع شد........ سرش (سلطان ابراهیم)
بریده پیش بابر پادشاه آوردند، شخصے درآن معرکه
حاضر بود، این شعر برزبان راند

نوسي اوپر تها بتيسا * پاني پت میں بهارت دیسا
اٹهئیں رجب سکروار * بابر جیتا براهیم هارا

The army of Sultān Ibrāhīm, though limitless, yet many of the soldiers and nobles were heartless and grieved. In short, between the two kings at sunrise a big battle ensued . . . Having cut off his (Ibrāhīm's) head they brought it before Bābur Pādishāh. A man who was present on the battlefield recited this verse:

Nine hundred, thirty-two years were above it,
At Pānīpat—the land of Bhārat (India)
Eighth Rajab—Friday,
Bābur won ; Brāhīm vanquished.

There are other instances too of Urdū phrases being used in literary compositions in the time of Sikandar Lōdī, as is clearly noticeable in the works of Kabīr, Sikandar's contemporary.

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1 'Abdullāh-Tārīkh i Dā'ūdī, fol. 63b ; Or. 197, B. M.

Persian and Hindī words used by Ibn-i-Batūta.

Also certain words were in vogue in a period much prior to this, in the time of Muhammad Tughlaq, may be traced in the historical records of Ibn-i-Batūta. Nothing looks more strange than Batūta's succumbing to this influence. He was a resident of Tanja where pure Arabic was current, and no influence of Hindī or Persian could have worked. Nevertheless, in his book of travels one meets with many such words, no doubt as a result of his contact with the Indians. A list of 40 words taken at random is subjoined here by way of sample :—

کوتوالي	Kōtwālī
سموسه	Samūsa
عنبه (انبه)	'Anba
مهوا	Mahwa
کشري (کچهڑي)	Kishrī (Khichri)
گسائیں	Gusa'īn
منڈي	Mandī
پیاده	Piyāda
ریبول (راي بیل)	Ribōl (Rai Bēl)
خرمقه (خرمگاه)	Kharmqa (Khurram-gah)
بارگه	Bārgah
سراچه	Sarācha
گلواني (گله‌بان)	Galwānī (Gal-lah Bān)
جاکر (چاکر)	Jākar (Chākar)
بدخانه (بتخانه)	Bud Khāna (But Khāna)
شال باف	Shālbāf
(قطاره) کتاره – کٹاره	Qatāra (Katāra)
جوکیه (جوگي)	Jōkiya (Jōgī)
ساهه (ساهوکار)	Sāha (Sāhōkār)
خونجه (خوانچه)	Khōnja (Khw-āncha)
بهنصار (بهنسار)	Bahinsār (Bhansār)
شاؤش (چاؤش)	Sha'ūsh (Chā'ūsh)
نیلم	Nīlam
کتکر (کٹگهر)	Katkar (Kat-ghar)
مرطبان (مرتبان)	Martabān
ٹٹو	Tāttū

قل استان (گلستان)	Qul 'Istān (Gulistān)
شطر (چھتر)	Shatar (Chatar)
بورا (بھورا)	Būra (Bhūrā)
پردۂ داریہ	Parda-dārya
سرگ دوار	Surug duwār
حورنسب	Hūr Nasab
ناخدا	Nā Khudā
سین (سہنی)	Sīn
دول (ڈولی)	Dōl (Dōli)
دولہ (ڈولہ)	Dōla
جوتری (چودھری)	Jotrī (Chaudhri)
پروانہ	Parwāna (Official letter)
دردھی (ڈیوڑھی)	Dardhī (Deorhī)
کہار	Kahār

From this list it may be seen how at that time Persian and Hindī words got mixed together and were so profusely current on the lips of the people at large that even a foreigner could not escape using them.

Earliest trace of Urdū language in the 4th Century A.H.

Urdū language in its crude form could be traced as early as the 4th Century A.H. With the advent of Mahmūd of Ghaznī came fresh bands of Persians and Turks who were strangers to the current Prakrits of Upper Hindūstān. Their regular and sustained association at the court with the Hindūs furnished ample ground for a free mixture of Turki and Persian with Hindī and other Prakrits, current in the Provinces of Sindh, Gujarāt,

and the Punjab. An instance of this novel but graceful blending of Persian with Hindī may be quoted from the works of the famous Persian poet, Manūchahrī, who was in India at the court of Sultān Mas'ūd Mahmūd's second son and successor. He says in a *qasīda*, which is preserved in his poetic collections as follows :—

Manūchahrī's Hindī-Persian Verse.

[1] الا تا مومنان دارند روزه * الا تا هندوان گیرند لنگهن

A similar verse of Hakīm Sanā'ī.

Hakīm Sanā'ī also who flourished a century later, says:

لنگهنت گر ترا کند فربه * سیرخوردن ترا زلنگهن به

After Manūchahrī, two other distinguished poets of the later Ghaznavid period, Mas'ūd Sa'd-i-Salmān, and Abū 'Abdullāh Alankatī, who were born and bred in India,[2] are said to have composed separate dīwāns in Hindūstānī language, besides a good many poems in mixed Hindī and Persian, which are now not extant. But the fact remains that they were masters of three different languages, Arabic, Persian, and Hindūstānī and left their works in Hindī, as cited by reliable authorities like Muhammad Aufi and several other Persian and Indian biographers.

Hindī dīwāns of Mas'ūd Sa'd-i-Salmān, and Abū 'Abdullāh Alankatī.

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1 The word 'لنگهن' meaning 'fast' is not Persian, but is the original of the word from which is derived 'لانگهنا' (to skip). The sound 'گه' as a unit is not found in the Persian alphabets and is essentially Hindī.

2 Mas'ūd was born at Lahore in 440 A.H., and stayed during the early part of his life at the court of Saifuddīn Mahmūd, who had been appointed Viceroy of India by his father Sultān Ibrahīm, ruler of Ghaznī, in 469 A.H.

As time went on, relations between the Hindūs and the Muslims became closer every day due to the growing social and political associations. In 589 A.H., Chand Ko'ī, a celebrated Hindī poet and a grandee of the court of Rāja Prithwīrāi of Ajmer, wrote his memorable poem "Prithwirāj Rāisa" wherein occurred several Arabic and Persian words of which some are reproduced below :—

Chand Ko'ī, a Hindī poet of the 6th Century A.H., a benefactor of Urdū poetry.

مست-مہل (محل) - پروردگار- ھجرت (حضرت)
کہدا (خدا) - پگام (پیغام) - کھبر (خبر) -
سرتان (سلطان)- بادشاہ - سلام - کھلك (خلق) -
دنیا - ساھب (صاحب) - پھر مان (فرمان) -

Some of his 'doharās' are in plain soft Hindī or Birj Bhaka which, in the course of time, crystallised itself into Urdū. A specimen is quoted below :—

بارہ بانس بنیس میں چار انگل پھرمان
اُتنے گھر بادشاہ ھے متي چوکي چوھان
پیر نه اُن نے جمنے ھیں نپٹ نه کھیچن کمان
سات بار تم چوکیو اب نه چوك چوھان

During the 7th and the 8th centuries of the Hijra, when Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn Balban and Muhammad Tughlaq and his successors were ruling in Western India, this hybrid combination of Hindī with Persian gained a new polish, and gradually became more attractive and acceptable to the people of Hindūstān than it had ever been before. Shāh Sharafuddīn Ahmad Yahyā Munīrī, a learned Sūfī who lived at this age, was a poet of great

Shāh Sharafuddīn Ahmad Yahyā Munīrī, a Hindī-Urdū poet of the 8th Century A.H.

originality, and composed a good many 'doharās' in soft Hindī, which is but Urdū.

His Urdū-Hindī "Kajmandra."

Of his Urdū-Hindī works, his famous poem entitled 'Kajmandra' is preserved at the India Office Library, London.

Some instances of mixed Hindī-Persian composition assigned to Amīr Khusrau's genius by popular belief are those which have been cited by Āzād, Shiblī, and others, on the basis of a remote reference occurring in Khusrau's own statement,[1] and that of Taqī Auhadī (author of the 'Urafāt ul 'Āshiqīn')[2] who visited the court of Jahāngīr in 1015 A.H. Mīr Taqī Mīr also, in his "Nikāt ush Shu'arā" states that Khusrau's Hindī songs were very popular in Delhi up till Muhammad Shāh's reign. Nevertheless, none so far has appeared to me as deserving of any serious consideration. The doubtful character of the alleged verses, which emerge from obscure sources, has in most cases been obvious.

Amīr Khusrau's contribution to Urdū.

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1 Cf. Ghurrat ul Kamāl, Preface :

پیش ازیں از شاهان سخن کسے را سه دیوان نبود مگر مرا که خسرو
ممالک کلام مسعود سعد سلمان را اگرچه هست اما آں سه دیوان در عبارت
عربي و فارسي و هندي است -

2 The work is rare and no copy of it is available in the British Museum or the India Office Library. The Asifiyya Library, Hyderabad Deccan, is in possession of one copy which is not very good. The author came from Persia to India in the reign of Jahāngīr, in 1015 A. H., and completed this work here under the patronage of the emperor.

A separate collection entitled "Jawāhir-i-Khusrawī" published from Aligarh in 1916, under the auspices of the Khusrau committee, is claimed to be the best earliest specimen of Urdū language. The collection, as it stands, is uncritical, and has no good evidence, external or internal, in support of its genuineness. Examined internally, the refined language of many of the verses cited therein, the excellence achieved in diction, the freshness of style and intactness of words unaffected by Hindī tone and expression, and the perfect freedom of language from that crudeness and rigidity of form which is a characteristic feature of early Urdū, are some of the reasons against the acceptance of the assigned work as a genuine composition of Amīr Khusrau. Even so late as in the 10th Century A.H., the language had not attained that purity which is perceptible in the alleged verses of Khusrau who flourished in the 7th Century A.H. A good many words, phrases, and expressions, noticed in "Jawāhir-i-Khusrawī" are those which received their polish only in and after Shāh Jahān's time. Hence, it needs a careful investigation and scrutiny to determine Khusrau's own Hindī poetry and subsequent unwarranted additions.[1]

Critical estimate of Khusrau's Hindī Collection entitled "Jawāhir-i-Khusrawī."

The utterly uncritical way in which the bulk of "Jawāhir-i-Khusrawī" was prepared and passed by the Khusrau Committee constituted at Aligarh, makes the work totally unfit for reference. The compilers have also included in the volume "Khāliq Bārī," a popular treatise intended for beginners. Besides the suspicious

Khusrau's "Khāliq Bārī," a misnomer.

[1] There was one Mīr Khusrau, a much later poet, whose Hindī sonnets have been discovered in a work entitled "خیالات خسروي" not yet published.

character of the language, several expressions used in it with particular significations were not in vogue prior to Akbar's or Jahāngīr's time. Hence, no instance of Khusrau's Hindī-Persian composition as quoted by modern writers could be said to be authentic, and is categorically dismissed from consideration.

Khusrau's Hindī poetry does not survive.

Khusrau's genuine Hindī poetry does not survive. It is either hopelessly mixed up with other works or in the course of transmission from generation to generation underwent convenient changes in the mode of expression and spelling, according to the current usage, until it came to acquire the existing unrecognisable form in which it is preserved in the works of later writers.

Rāja Jai Chand's support to Bhāka and its inevitable result.

A great incentive to the development and popularity of Bhāka (or soft Hindī), which is the mother of modern Urdū, is to be traced in the applausive support of Rāja Jai Chand who was contemporary with Khusrau. He invited capable poets to his court and offered to give a gold *ashrafi* for each *dohara* to any person who could compose in good Bhāka. This was the cause not only of turning out many a competitor from Delhi and its environs but also of creating a permanent taste for Bhāka among the cultured classes. People held competitive assemblies known as "*mushā'ira*" which were the cradle of Urdū poetry. The competitors in their zeal to excel their opponents created so many niceties and innovations in the Bhāka itself that a separate language altogether was the ultimate result. Their specimens amply show that the new-born child produced from the conglomeration of Hindī, Persian, Arabic, and Turki, speaking from the mouth of Hindī poets and patronised by the Hindu-Muslim rulers of Hindūstān, must have kept on progressing slowly but steadily, and

attained considerable strength and power by the time Bābur came to India.

Progress of Urdū in the Lodī period.

That it had gained fair popularity in the reigns of Sultān Bahlōl and Sultān Sikandar is evident from the contemporary literature such as that of the great religious reformer Gurū Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion, and the famous Hindī poet Kabīr. In addition to incorporating, in the time-honoured practice, Arabic and Persian words in the Punjābī and Hindī dialects,[1] they have used a number of Urdū phrases with Urdū grammatical setting in their metrical compositions. A few of these by way of sample are reproduced below :—

Gurū Nānak's poetry.

اِس دم وا کا کیا بهروسا * آیا آیا نه آیا نه آیا
یا سنسار رین وا سپنا * کهیں دیکها کهیں ناهیں دکهایا
سوچ وچار کرے مت من میں * جسنے ڈهونڈا اُسنے پایا
نانك بهگتن کے پد پرسے * نس دن رام چرن چتلایا

———

سانس ماس سب جیو تمهارا * توهي کهرا پیارا
نانك شاعرا یو کهت هے * سچے پروردگارا

———

کلیان تهي ڈهرلے بهٹے ڈهر لیون بهٹے سپید
نانك متا متو دیان اجڑ گیا کهیڈ (کهیت)

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[1] Cf. the statement by Macauliffe :

"Hymns are found in Persian, mediæval Prakrit, Hindi, Marathi, Old Punjābī, and several local dialects. In several hymns the Sanskrit and Arabic vocabularies are freely drawn upon." [The Sikh Religion, Vol. 1, Preface, p. iii. Oxford, 1909.]

جاگو رے جن جاگنا اب جاگن کي بار
پھر کب جاگو نانکا جب سوؤ پانؤں پسار

متران دوست مال دھن چھوڑ چلے ات بھائے
سنگ نہ کوئي نانکا وہ ہنس اکیلا جائے

Kabīr's Urdū 'ghazal': a wonderful feat of the age.

A most wonderful feat of this age is the accomplishment of 'ghazal' in Urdū language. There is no evidence to show that 'ghazal' had attained such polish and perfection before Sikandar's time. Khusrau is believed to have laid the foundation of lyric poetry, but no instance of same, save a mixed Hindī-Persian 'ghazal' of doubtful authenticity, is in existence today. While Kabīr's ghazals, of which a specimen is quoted below, are conclusive and composed in soft Hindī which is but Urdū.

غزل

ہمن ہي عشق مستانہ ہمن کو ہوشیاري کیا
رہیں آزاد یا جگ میں ہمن دنیا سے یاري کیا

جو بچھڑے ہیں پیارے سے بھٹکتے دربدر پھرتے
ہمارا یار ہي ہم میں ہمن کو انتظاري کیا

خَلَق سب نام اپنے کو بہت کر سر پٹکتا ہے
ہمن گرو نام سانچا ہے ہمن دنیا سے یاري کیا

نہ پل بچھڑیں پیا ہم سے نہ ہم بچھڑیں پیارے سے
انھیں سے نیہ لاگي ہے ہمن کو بیقراری کیا

کبیرا عشق کا ماتا دوئی کو دور کر دل سے
جو چلنا راہ نازک ہے ہمن کو بوجھہ بھاري کیا

Kabīr's language is most simple throughout as could be seen in his numerous 'pahīlīs' and poems which stand high for their Sūfistic and moral teachings. Nearly all his poetry is in plain spoken language of the people and not in the literary tongue. Some specimens are as follows:—

His 'pahīlīs' and other verses, and their chief feature.

کانکر پاتھر جوڑ کے مسجد لئے چنائے
تاچڑھ ملا بانگ دے کیا بہرا ہوا خدائے

پوتھي پڑھ پڑھ جگ موا پنڈت ہوا نہ کوی
ڈھائي اکچھر پریم کا پڑھے سو پنڈت ہوی

کبیر شریر سرائے ہے کیوں سوئے سکھ چین
کوچ نقارا سانس کا باجت ہے دن رین

سانجھ پڑے دن بیتوے چکوي دنیا روي
چل چکوا اس دیس کو جہاں رین نا ہوي

ماٹي کہے کمہار کو تو کیا روندھے موي
اکدن ایسا ہوئیگا میں روندونگي توي

نینوں کي کر کوٹھری پتلي پلنگ بچھائے
پلکوں کي چک ڈالکے پي کو لیا رجھائے

پہیلی

سگوا پنجروا چھوڑکر بھاگا
اس پنجرے میں دس دروازا
دسوں دروازہ کنہڑوا لاگا
کہت کبیر سنو بھائی سادھو
اُڑ گیو ہنس ٹوٹ گیو تاگا

People had even begun to adopt Urdū construction and words in their names in supersession of Arabic and Persian, for example, the name 'Ilāh Diya'[1] of a leading Persian and Arabic scholar of Sikandar's time is an Urdū-Arabic compound with a pure Urdū construction.

An earlier specimen of Urdū.

Another instance of the spoken Urdū about half a century earlier, when 'Alā'uddīn II was ruling at Ahmadābād (1435--57 A.D.) is as follows:—

[2] روزي حضرت قطب الاقطاب (سيد برهان الدين) وقت
تهجد از براي نزاهت استنجاش ميرفتند - ناگاه پاي مبارك
ايشان بر چوبي خورد - درد كرد - بے اختيار از زبان مبارك
ايشان بر آمد كه "لوه هے يا لكر هے يا پتهر هے يا كيا هے"
يعنى آهن است يا چوب است يا سنگ است يا چه
چيز است -

The overlined sentence in this passage is noteworthy. It is a pure Urdū expression almost as good as one could find anywhere, and was uttered by a celebrated saint Sayyid Burhānuddīn who died at Ahmadābād in 1453 A.D. After such vivid historical reminiscences there is left hardly a doubt that Urdū had by this time gained a firm hold on the people and was also among the spoken tongues of Hindūstān since the time of Khusrau, as a result of which one meets with such instances in the subsequent period covered by the Tughlaq, the Lodī, and the Mughal rule.

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[1] Badāunī, Vol. 1, p. 324.

Note.—" اله " Arabic, meaning "God," and "ديه" Urdū Past Participle of the Verb "دينا." Ilāh Diya, therefore, means "God-given." [Cf. its Persian equivalent "خدا بخش" or "خدا داد".]

[2] Mir'āti Sikandari, B. M., Add. 26, 277, fol. 147.

CHAPTER V

Literary significance of Sikandar Lodī's reign: a turning point in the history of Persian literature in India.

The reign of Sikandar Lodī is most important in this connection as being the chief period in which Hindī and Persian grew in intimate relationship with each other, so that their reciprocal influence led also to a distinction between the Persian Persian and the Indian Persian. Though this influence was in operation since long before the coming of the Lodīs to power, as is already noticed in the works of the two prominent poets, Chandko'ī and Shāh Sharaf, who flourished in the 6th and the 8th centuries A. H., respectively, yet it was not as a matter of fact so perceptible as in the reign of Sikandar Lodī when the Hindūs for the first time in their history took to reading Persian as an avowed language of culture, and as a means of getting ranks in the administration with the golden prospect of falling into the royal favour if fortune helped.

Sikandar, on his accession to the throne in 1489 A.D., attempted to instal those of his subjects who possessed the classical knowledge of Persian, in the responsible offices of the government. Seeing such a predilection for Persian, certain sections among the Hindus, particularly the Kāyasthas, turned their attention to Muslim lore and made a vigorous attempt to acquire an appreciable knowledge of Persian. Farishta writes thus:

[1] وکافران بخواندن و نوشتن خط فارسي که تاآن
زمان درمیان ایشان معمول نه بود پرداختند -

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1 Farishta, Vol. I, p. 344.

And the unbelievers took to reading and writing Persian which was not a practice among them till that time.

The consequence was that the Hindus and such of the native Muslims as whose mother-tongue was Hindī, began to introduce into their language words from Persian and Arabic. This was a turning point in the history of Persian literature in India, in being in a great measure responsible for its divergence from the main central unit. The Hindūs as well as the native Muslims shortly developed such a taste for Persian that their poets frequently used Persian words in the wake of Bhāka, with the result that a number of Persian official and legal terms together with other common colloquial expressions obtained currency in their mouth in a somewhat different sense from that in which they were understood in Persia. Many words coined under local influences also came into vogue, and gaining the stamp of currency were admitted even by prominent writers like Abul Fazl, Badāūnī, Farishta, and Nizām-uddīn Ahmad.[1]

This state of affairs arose chiefly from the lack of Persian vocabulary in expressing certain local customs and indigenous products.

Summary of the causes which led to a distinction between Persian Persian and the Indian Persian.

To sum up the whole, Persian as it developed in India evidently under the influence of Indian dialects, was slowly deviating from its centre, the Persian Persian, which in Persia, grew in a totally different environment as being constantly influenced by Turkish, French, Arabic, and Russian idiom.[2] Also, the authors in India never seemed to have felt the need for recasting their style by a reference to Per-

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[1] For illustrations refer supra, Chapter VII.

[2] For illustrations *vide* supra, p. 137.

sia, due perhaps to a sense of *par excellence.* Very many words crystallised by usage and accepted by society's verdict strayed from their original meaning, and were retained here in a different sense altogether ; while others becoming obsolete in Persia, being ruled out from time to time by fresh ones in their stead, under foreign pressure (chiefly Turkish, Russian, French and Arabic), remained both inaccessible to and unwished for by the Indian writers. Even the fresh bands of literate Persians and their best poets like 'Urfī, Zuhūrī, Tālib Āmulī, Nazīrī, Sā'ib, and others, on their entry into Hindūstān, recognised such words and incorporated them in their compositions.[1]

In short, Bābur came to India at a time when the influence of Hindī over Persian was distinctly beginning to be felt. Since Sikandar's time nearly all sections of people in Upper Hindūstān, be they Hindūs or Muslims, had taken to studying Persian as their sole literary tongue.

A parrot speaking Persian.

A curious instance has been mentioned by Bābur that a parrot without being previously taught by any one, spontaneously uttered two Persian sentences which were just to suit the bird's requirements on respective occasions. This evidently cannot happen unless it be presumed that in the house in which she was brought up, Persian was spoken most of the time and was the common feature of the household talks. The following incident is quoted from his Memoirs:

> People call it the Kashmīr parrot . . . It is an excellent learner of words. We used to think that whatever a parrot or a '*maina*' might say of words,

[1] For illustrations *vide* supra, Chapter VII.

people had taught it: it could not speak of any matter out of its own head. At this juncture, one of my immediate servants, Abul Qāsim (Jalā'ir) reported a singular thing to me. A parrot of this sort whose cage must have been covered up said:

[1] روي مرا وا کن دمگیر شدم

Uncover my face I am stifling.

At another time when *pālkī* bearers sat down to take breath, this parrot, presumably on hearing wayfarers pass by, said:

[2] مردم رفتند نمي رويد

Men have gone past: are you not going on?

As a result of the policy adopted by Sikandar Lodī in popularising Persian language throughout his dominions, the masses consisting both of Hindūs and Muslims used to speak and think in Persian. Badāūnī mentions a curious incident based on his personal experience. In his description of the battle of Pānīpat he observes:

Persian was the spoken tongue of Ibrāhīm's camp.

[3] از کشته پشته شد و جمعي که باقي ماندند
طعمه زاغ وزغن گشته و مدت دوقرن ازان واقعه
تا زمان این منتخب گذشته که هنوز در شبها آوازهٔ
ده و ستان وبکش و بزن ازان میدان بگوش سامعان
میرسد ودر سنه ۹۹۷ جامع این اوراق نیز وقت سحر
که از بلدهٔ لاهور بجانب فتحپور میرفت وعبور دران

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1 Bābur Nāma, fol. 278.

2 Ibid.

3 Badāūnī, Vol. 1, p. 335, Calcutta, 1869.

میدان افتاد این صدای هولناك بگوش آمد و جماعه
که همراه بودند خیال کردند که مگر غنیم پیدا شد
انچه شنیده بود دید -

Pile over pile was formed of the dead, and the heap which remained exposed became a morsel of the raven and the kite; and the space of two generations has elapsed since that occurrence to the time of this *Muntakhab* (abridged history) that the sound of 'give' and 'take,' and 'strike' and 'kill' reaches the ears of the audience from that plain; and in the year 997, the compiler of these pages also, one morning, while travelling from the city of Lāhore towards Fathepūr, happened to cross that plain, the same frightening sound came to the ears and the party that bore company thought that perchance an enemy had appeared. What I had heard, I saw.

CHAPTER VI

Scholars and men of skill who were contemporary with Bābur.

The literary men of the age comprising poets, historians, philosophers, and theologians, who wrote Persian easily, occupy a long roll, and are alphabetically arranged as follows, with distinctive marks of reference against each. They are chiefly those who have been noticed by him in his Memoirs, and will be found more completely dealt with in the works of contemporary historians like the Habībus-siyar of Khwandamīr; Tuhfa-i-Sāmī of Prince Sām Mīrzā; and Tazkiratush Shua'rā of Daulat Shāh Samarqandī.

I. Āsafī [286*]; Āhī [289*; 2||].
'Ādilī [111*]. Ātashī‡
II. Bannā'ī [136*; 286]. Bayānī [278*].
Bū Sa'īd [292*].
III. Daulat Shāh. Ghurbatī [261*].
Gulbadan Bēgum.
IV. Lātifī [288*; 104**]. Hilālī [292*; 55||].
Haidar Mīrzā [22*].
Hasan-i-'Alī Jalā'ir (or Tufailī) [278*; 286].
Husainī [256—259]*. 'Ishrāq Asfahānī [7||].
Jalāluddīn Dawwānī [111‡‡].
Jāmī [286*; 283; 507†].
V. Khwāja Kalān [525*]. Khwandamīr [605*; 683].
Khwāja Abul Barakāt [137*; 362¶].
Khāksār [448*; 581]. Kāmī [290*].
Khwāja Maulānā Qāzī [89*].

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* Beveridge, Memoirs of Bābur, London, 1921.

|| Riza Quli Khan, Majma'ul Fusaha Tihran, 1295 A.H.

‡ Badauni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Calcutta, 1865.

** Sām Mīrzā Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, Or. 648, U. L. C.

‡‡ Khwandamīr, Habībus Siyar, Bombay, 1857.

† Browne, Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion.

¶ Muhammad Qasim, Tarikh-i-Farishta, ut supra.

VI. Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī [271* ; 286 ; 217‡‡].
Mullā Husain Wā'iz Kāshifī [503†].
Mīrzā Muhammad Sālih [289*].
Mīr Khwand [198‡‡ ; 339].
Mir Husain Mu'ammā'ī [201* ; 288].
Muhammad Tālib Mu'ammā'ī [201*].
Mullā 'Abdul Ghafur Lārī [284*].
Maulānā Shihāb [605* ; 683].
Mīr 'Ibrāhīm [605*].
Maulānā Mahmūd [476*].
Maulānā Shaikh Husain [283*].
Mīrza Barkhurdār Turkmān [viii§].
Mullā Zāda Mullā 'Usmān [284*].
Mīr Jamāluddīn Muhaddis [284*].
Mullā 'Alī Jān [448*].
Mīr 'Alā'uddīn Mashhadī [285*].
Mīr Muhammad Yūsuf [285*].
Maulana Sadr [356¶].
Mīr Murtāz [284*].

VII. Qāzī Ikhtiyār [285*]. Qāsimī [26**].
Shaikh Zainuddīn [553 – 559* ; 683]. Saifī [288*].
Sultān Muzaffar [481*]. Sanā'ī [362¶].
Sām Mīrzā [83‡‡]. Sulaimān Shāh [31||].
Shaikh 'Abdul Wajd [621*]. Suhailī [277*; 286].
Shaikhul 'Islām Mullā Saifuddīn Ahmad Taftāzānī [283*].
Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliārī [539*; 265**].

VIII. Wafā'ī [38*]. Wafā'ī of Deccan [62||].
Yūsuf Badī'ī [289*].

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* Beveridge, Memoirs of Bābur, London, 1921.
‡‡ Khwandamīr Habībus Siyar, Bombay, 1857.
† Browne, Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion.
§ Rushbrook-Williams, Bābur—An Empire-builder of the 16th century.
¶ Muhammad Qasim, Tarikh-i-Farishta, ut supra.
** Sām Mīrzā, Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, Or. 648, U. L. C.
|| Riza Quli Khan, Majma'ul Fusaha Tihran, 1295 A.H.

Of the above scholars some who ranked high in his estimation or subsequently achieved a name as an author, together with those who interviewed him in India or were his contemporaries there, are grouped as follows:

(A) Poets.

Jāmī, Suhailī, Tufailī, Bayānī, Husainī, Fānī, Sulaiman Shāh, Wafā'ī of Deccan, Qāsimī, Ātāshī, Maulānā Shihāb, Mīr Ibrāhīm, Āhī, Hilālī, Bū Sā'īd, Bannā'ī, Hātifī.

(B) Historians.

Haidar Mīrzā, Mīr Khwand, Khwandamīr, Sām Mīrzā, Mīrzā Barkhurdār Turkmān, Mīrza Muhammad Sālih, Daulat Shāh Samarqandī, Gulbadan Bēgum.

(C) Philosophers and Theologians.

Mullā Saifuddīn Ahmad Taftāzānī, Jalāluddīn Dawwānī, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliārī, Shaikh Zainuddīn, Mullā Zāda Mullā 'Usmān, Mullā Husain Wā'iz Kāshifī, Khwāja Maulānā Qāzī, Mīr Murtāz, Mīr Muhammad Yūsuf, Qāzī Ikhtiyār, Mīr Ātā'ūllāh Mashhadī, Mullā 'Ābdul Ghafūr Lārī, Mīr Jamāluddīn Muhaddis, Maulānā Shaikh Husain, Maulānā Mahmūd.

(D) Pen-men; Painters and Musicians.

Sultān 'Ālī Mashhadī, Bihzād, Shāh-Muzaffar Shaikhī Nāyī, Qul Muhammad, Shāh Qulī.

A short description of each of these, in the words of Bābur where necessary, is given below:

A. Jāmī.

"The all-surpassing head of the poet-band was Maulānā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī. He was unrivalled in his day for esoteric and exoteric knowledge. Famous indeed are his poems. The Mullā's dignity it is out of my power to describe; it has occurred to me merely to mention his name and one atom of his excellence,

as a benediction and good omen for this part of my humble book."[1]

So far was Bābur's remark about Jāmī. His real name was 'Abdur Rahmān and surnames 'Imāduddīn and Nūr-uddīn. He was born at Jām, a village in Herāt, in 817 A.H., and died in 898 A.H. At his death Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī had composed a chronogram in Persian which is as follows:

[2] کاشف سر الهي بود بيشك زان سبب
گشت تاريخ وفاتش كاشف سراله

He took the pen-name Jāmī for two reasons:

(i) To indicate his connection with Jām, and
(ii) To show that his writings saturated with the wine of spiritualism :

[3] مولدم جام ور شحه قلمم * جرعه جام شيخ الاسلامي است
زان سبب در جريده اشعار * بدو معني تخلصم جامي است

My birth-place is Jām, and the drop of my pen, is the draught of the jām,(cup) of Shaykh-ul-Islām ;
For that reason in the book of my verses, Jāmī is my pen-name to serve the two meanings.

He is recognised as one of the most learned Sūfīs and mystic poets of Persia. His works as enumerated in Tuhfa i Sāmī[4] are 47 in number, while Wālih Dāghistānī

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1 Memoirs of Bābur, pp. 283, 286. For detailed notice of Jāmī, see Browne, Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion.

2 'Alī Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī, Riyāzush Shu'arā—Add. 16, 729, B.M., fol. 100b.

3 'Abdul Ghafūr Lārī, Commentary on Nāfhāt, fol. 173a, Or. 218, B. M.

4 Or. 648, fol. 93a., U. L. C.

places them at 54 equal to the numerical value of the letters of his pen-name 'Jāmī.' Some of his best known works are the following :

Prose—

1. Nafhātul 'Uns (or Perfumes of Love) is a biography of saints. It is an abridged translation of the Arabic work Tabaqātus Sūfiya, and is most popular among Sūfīs.
2. Shawāhidun Nubuwwat (or Evidences of Prophethood).
3. Bahāristān (or Spring-field). A treatise written in imitation of Sa'dī's Gulistān, but less successful.
4. Lawā'ih (or flashes of light). A tract in mixed verse and prose on mystical utterances.
5. Sharhul Lam'āt. A commentary on 'Irāqī's metrical version entitled 'Lam'āt,' undertaken at the desire of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī.
6. Sharh i Jāmī, a commentary on 'Kāfiya,' the famous Arabic grammar of Ibnul Hājib.

Poetry—

7. Sab'atul Haq, also called Haft Aurang (or seven brothers—not thrones [1]), is a collection

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[1] Cf. Browne, "Seven Thrones." Pers. Lit. under Tārtar Dom., p. 515.

Note the following authoritative statement rejecting Browne's view :

و چوں ایں مثنویات هفتگانه بمنزله هفت برادراند که از پشت خامهٔ
واسطی نهاد ، و شکم مادر دوات چینی نژاد به سعادت ولادت رسیدهٔ اند......
میشاید که بهفت اورنگ که در لغت فرس قدیم عبارتست از هفت برادران

of seven Masnawīs reckoned as next to Nizāmī's Khamsa. Of these the most successful is Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā.

8. Masnawī Ka'ba—composed in praise of the sacred Harem—is considered as one of the finest works unapproached in poetic excellences.
9. Kulliyāt-i-Jāmī—which includes his Dīwān, containing 'rubā' iyāt' and 'ghazals.'

He died at Herāt mourned by the whole populace. Some think that he was the last great poet of Persian language. This is an error. He may be the last great mystic poet but not the last great classical poet of Persian language. These two statements are of distinct significance, and neither should be confused with the other. Probably no person whose poetry displays mysticism to such an extent with poetic greatness has since come into existence. Both in his lifetime and after he was considered as an 'Ārif and a model for Sūfī poetry. Thus writes Muhi-i-Lārī, a distinguished pupil of Jalāluddīn Dawwānī :

Jāmī not as the last great poet but as the last great mystic poet of Persian language.

که هفت کواکب اند ...... نامزد میشود –

And since these seven masnawīs are like seven brothers that have been blessed with the birth from the back of the father, pen, of Wāsta disposition, and the womb of the mother, inkpot, of Chinese descent, it is meet that they should be named 'Haft Aurang,' which in old Persian means seven brothers who are seven stars. [Preface to same, fol. 1a. Add. 7770, B. M.]

[1] گر بودت از سخن ما ملال ❊ گوش کن از عارف جام این مقال

If thou art grieved at my discourse,
Hear from the 'Ārif of Jām this speech.

Another poet Hāshimī Kirmānī says :

[2] شرح کمالات نظامي کنم ❊ پیروی خسرو و جامي کنم
چون مئے خسرو بتمامي رسید ❊ دور مئے عشق بجامی رسید
انچه توان گفت نظامي ربود ❊ باقي آن خسرو و جامي ربود

I may explain the perfections of Nizāmī,
I may follow in the footsteps of Khusrau and Jāmī,
When the wine of Khusrau came to a finish,
The cup of the wine of love passed to Jāmī ;
What could be said was carried off by Nizāmī,
The rest thereof by Khusrau and Jāmī.

Jāmī's influence in India is perhaps more than that of any other poet after Sa'dī, Khusrau, and Hāfiz. While his Sūfistic poetry laid hold on the hearts of the general public, his Arabic commentary on 'Kāfiya,' commonly called 'Sharh-i-Mullā Jāmī, won the admiration of the student world, and remained a standard and a favourite book of study in all the Arabic Institutions

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1 Masnawī Futūhul Haramain, Or. 343, B.M., fol. 10a puts the verse more clearly as follows :

گر بودت از سخن من ملال ❊ گوش کن از عارف جامي مقال

2 Masnawī Mazharul Āsār—Add. 6631, B. M.

of Upper Hindustān, the Punjāb, Bengal, and the Deccan.

They are mentioned by Bābur after Jāmī:—

"The all-surpassing head of the poet-band was Mawlānā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī. Others were Shaykham Suhaylī and Hasan 'Alī of Jalā'ir."[1] Suhaylī put a Dīwān together; *masnawīs* of his are also in existence."[2]

Suhailī and Tufailī.

"Hasan 'Alī of Jalā'ir made Tufaylī his pen-name, wrote good odes, and was the master of this art in his day."[3]

The author of Majma'ul Fusaha calls Suhailī by the name of Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, and says that he had composed two Dīwāns, one in Persian and the other in Turki.[4]

"Khwāja 'Abdullāh Marwārīd was another. He was at first Chief Justice, but later on became Mirza's favourite household Bēgs. He was full of accomplishments; on the dulcimer he had no equal, and he invented the shake on the dulcimer; he wrote in several scripts most beautifully in the *ta'līq*; he composed admirable letters, wrote good verse with Bayānī for his pen-name, and was a pleasant companion. Compared with his other accomplishments his verse ranks low, but he knew what was poetry."[5]

Bayānī.

1 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 286.
2 Ibid., 277.
3 Ibid., 278.
4 Rizā Qulī Khān, Majma'ul Fusahā, p. 31.
5 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 278.

Sultān Husain Mīrza, ruler of Khurāsan, Herāt, and Merv, was poetically surnamed *Husainī.*[1] His reign is notable for the advancement of culture and learning. Jāmī Mīrkhwand, Daulat Shāh Samarqandī, Mullā Husain Wa'iz Kashifi, Mullā Saifuddīn Ahmad Taftazānī, Khwandamīr, and many other eminent scholars flourished at this time and were in some way or other connected with his court. The great Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'i was one of his court nobles and is chiefly noted for his munificent encouragement to his learned contemporaries who in their turn dedicated some of their works to him in acknowledgment to his liberal support.[2]

Husainī.

" 'Alī Shīr Bēg had no match. For as long as verse had been written in the Turkī tongue, no one has written so much or so well as he. He wrote six books of poems (masnawī) five of them answering

Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'i.

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1 Cf. Browne, Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion, p. 456.

"He wrote good poetry under the nom-de-guerre 'Hasan.'" This is an error, for not only the Turki text (fol. 164 b) confirms the same, but that in his own composition he uses 'Husainī,' *not Hasan,* for his pen-name :

چون حسيني خويش را خواهم دگر پيرانه سر
مست و سر در سجدهٔ زيبا جواني ماند است

[Tuhfa i Sāmī. fol. 11a, Or. 648, U.L.C.]

2 A parallel contemporary instance of the like patronage of the men of letters at an Indian court is to be found in Deccan in the person of Mahmūd Gāwān who, in the words of Dr. Rieu, "was celebrated no less for his literary talent than for his boundless liberalities." [Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, Vol. 11, p. 528.]

He perhaps excelled Mīr 'Alī Shir, since Jāmī, who happened to be at his court by mere accident of Herāt being his native place, was apparently not satisfied there and used to send his verses to Deccan in praise of Mahmūd Gāwān, in the hope of his acceptance of them. For verses *vide* supra, p. 142.

to the *Quitet* (Khamsah), the sixth, entitled the Lisānut-Tayr (Tongue of the birds), was in the same metre as the Mantiqut-Tayr (Speech of the birds). He put together four Dīwāns (collection of odes), bearing the names 'Curiosities of Childhood,' 'Marvels of Youth,' 'Wonders of Manhood,' and 'Advantages of Age.' There are good quatrains of his also. Some others of his compositions rank below those mentioned; amongst them is a collection of his letters imitating that of Mawlānā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī, and aiming at gathering together any letter on any topic he had ever written to any person. He wrote also the Mīzānul Awzān (scale of measures) on Prosody; he has made mistakes in it about the metres of four out of twenty-four quatrains, while about other measures he has made mistakes such as any one who has given attention to prosody will understand. He put a Persian *dīwān* together also, *Fānī* being his pen-name for Persian verse. Some couplets in it are not bad but for the most part it is flat and poor. In music also he composed good things—some excellent airs and preludes. No such patron and protector of men of parts and accomplishments is known nor has one such been heard of as ever appearing. It was through his instruction and support that Ustād Qul Muhammad, the lutanist, Shaykhī, the flautist, and Husayn, the lutanist, famous performers all, rose to eminence and renown. It was through his effort and supervision that Ustād Bihzād, and Shāh Muzaffar became so distinguished in painting. Few are heard of as having helped to lay the good foundation for future excellence he helped to lay."[1]

He died in 1500 A.D., leaving a useful work in Turkī language entitled 'Majālisul Nafā'is' [or the Assembly of

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[1] Memoirs of Bābur, pp. 271-272

the elite], which afterwards was translated into Persian by Fakhrī Sultān Muhammad-bin-i-Amīrī under the title 'Lạtā'if Nāmā.'[1] Besides this he wrote a treatise on Sūfīsm entitled 'Tazkiratul-Auliyā or the Memoirs of Saints, and a counter reply to Nizāmī's Khamsa. Mīr 'Alī Shīr's taste for Persian poetry and his composed verses have had the recognition of some of the best poets of the time. Once on the occasion of Jāmī's safe return from Hejāz he composed a beautiful quatrain welcoming him home and sent it on to him :

[2] انصاف بده اي فلك مينا فام
تازين دو كدام خوبتر كرد خرام
يا مهر جهانتاب تو ازجانب صبح
يا ماه جهانگرد من از جانب شام

Give justice, O blue sky,
Which of these two walked more beautifully ;
Either thy world-illuminating sun from the side of Morn,
Or my world-traversing moon from the side of Eve.

He was Bābur's cousin, and ruled in Badakhshān with his uncle's consent. He is mentioned here chiefly on account of his close connection with India. He had a fine taste for poetry and composed verses both in Turkī and Persian. One of his elegiac quatrains which he wrote on the death of his son Ibrāhīm is a good specimen of his composition :

Sulaimān Shāh.

1 Add., 7669, MSS., B. M.

2 Tārīkh i Rashīdī : fol. 148b, ut supra. Note the suggestivity of the word شام which is also the name for Syria.

ای لعل بدخشان ز بدخشان رفتي[1]
مانند خورشيد درخشان رفتي
در دهر چو خاتم سليمان بودي
افسوس که از دست سليمان رفتي

O ruby of Badakhshān ! thou went away from it,
Gone like the brilliant sun ;
Like the ring of Solomon thou wast in the world,
Alas ! (that) thou hast slipped away from the hand of Solomon.

He entered into poetical competitions with the Turkish Admiral : Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs [2] : who was called by Humāyūn as " second Mīr 'Alī Shīr." On his throne being usurped by Shāh Rukh Mīrzā, he repaired to India, and was received by Akbar with the greatest affection and kindness. He died at Lahore in 997 A.H.

Wafā'ī of Deccan.

Sultān Ismā'īl 'Adil Shāh who wrote poetry under the pen-name ' Wafā'ī ' was the son of Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh of Deccan. He ascended the throne in 916 A.H., and ruled till 941 A.H. He was Bābur's contemporary in India. Some of his verses are quoted by Riza Qulī Khān—in his biography of Persian poets.[3]

Qāsimī.

His name was Mīrzā Qāsim Jūnābādī. He wrote under the pen-name Qāsimī several Masnawīs and poems of which the following deserve notice :

(i) Shāh Nāma-i-Māzī, a versified history of Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī.

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1 Majma'ul Fusahā, p. 31.
2 A. Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs, p. 66.
3 Majmā'ul Fusahā, p. 31.

(ii) Shāh Nama-i-Nāwāb-i-A'lā, a similar history of his successor Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī.

Mīrzā 'Alāuddaula Qazwīnī and Sām Mīrzā both mention his name with respect and recognise him as a great scholar and a poet unrivalled in his day in Masnawī writing :

میرزا قاسم که قاسمی تخلص میکند به علم و
فهم و فراست ممتاز و مستغنی است و در شعر و عروض
و معما سر آمد است ... با کثر کمالات پیراسته است
همه اقسام شعر میگوید اما در مثنوی سرآمد ست
و کسے درین زمانه مثنوی را بهتر ازو نگفته -[1]

Mīrzā Qāsim who writes under the pen-name Qāsimī is rich and distinguished in knowledge, understanding, and quick perception ; and is supreme in prosody and enigma. He is endowed with many perfections and composes all sorts of poetry, but in masnawī-writing stands ahead, and nobody has, in this age written masnawī better than him.

Mīrzā 'Alāuddaula tells us that while he was on his way to India, he met Qāsimī in his old age in Kāshān, and that the latter wrote a letter to the emperor Akbar enumerating his poetical works, and gave it to him to be delivered to his royal addressee. On the same authority we learn that he was a distinguished mathematician as well—a qualification so rarely combined with poetry :

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[1] Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, fol. 28a. Or. 648. U. L. C.

[1] ودر رياضيات بے بدلزمان خوداست

And in Mathematics he is unrivalled
in his age.

His letter in the original is reproduced below to give an idea of the form of address and the style which was generally followed in those days and considered as a merit of writing :

[2] بندۂ كمترين قاسم جنابدي بذروۂ عرض ملازمان
درگاه عرش اشتباه پادشاه خلائق پناه خلد الله تعالي
ظلال دولته و معدلته علي مفارق العالمين ' مير ساند
كه فلاني درگذر گاهي كه متوجه سفر هند بودند
اين كمينه بخدمت ايشان رسيدم و فرصت بغايت تنگ '
ازين مخلص استدعاى بعضي ابيات كردند
عجالة الوقت خودرا بوسيله صفت معراج حضرت نبوي
مذكور ضمير منير اقدس ساخت ' انشاء الله تعالي كتاب
شاهنامۂ ماضي كه چهار هزار و پانصد بيت است
و شاهنامۂ نواب اعلي كه آن نيز اين قدر است
و شاهرخنامه كه پنج هزار بيت است و ليلي مجنون كه
سه هزار بيت است و خسرو شيرين كه آن نيز سه هزار
بيت است و زبدة الاشعار كه چهار هزار و پانصد بيت
است ببحر مخزن الاسرار و گوي چوگان كه دو هزار

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1 Mīrzā 'Alāuddaula Qazwīnī, Nafā'isul Ma'āsir, fol. 79a.
[In private possession]

2 Ibid

و پانصد بیت است تمامي بخدمت فرستاده میشود -
والا مراعلي -

Shortly after, he sent all his works to the court of Akbar and was profusely rewarded by the emperor.

He came to India while quite young and remained here till his death which took place at Lahore in the year 973 A.H. Badāūnī has quoted several verses of his of which the following three are reproduced as truly depicting the Indian style and the renaissance that poetry was then undergoing in India :

Ātashī Qandhārī.

[1] سرشکم رفته رفته بیتو دریا شد تما شا کن
بیا در کشتي چشمم نشین و سیر دریا کن

My tear, in thy separation, has gradually turned into a sea : behold !
Come sit in the boat of my eye and enjoy the maritime trip.

[2] خنجر بمیان تیغ بکف چین بجبیں باش
خون ریز و جفا پیشه کن و برسر کین باش

Be ever ready with dagger in thy waist, sword in thy hand, and shrink on thy brow ;
Shed blood, adopt tyranny as thy profession, and be waging war.

[3] در شفق گشت شب عید نمایان مه نو
تا کنیم از پي جام مے گلگون تگ و دو

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1 Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 180.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid , p. 181.

In the twilight became visible the new moon on the night of 'Īd,
So that we may run after a cup of rosy red wine.

He was at first an anecdote-writer in Bābur's service but later on installed in the high offices of the government. Such a consummate touch of beauty in expression as his with dainty similes is easily distinguishable in the works of those who came and settled in India. He was an ordinary poet when he first came with Bābur and was not even noticed by him, but under the influence of Indian atmosphere gained a gracefulness which was long coveted by the poets in Persia.

Mīr Ibrāhīm and Maulānā Shihāb. These two along with Khwandamīr interviewed Bābur at Āgra in September, 1528 A.D.

> "Next day waited on me the historian Khwandamīr, Maulānā Shihāb, the enigmatist, and Mīr Ibrāhīm the harper . . . . who had all come out of Herī long before, wishing to wait on me."[1]

Bābur had also, on one occasion, sent a couplet of his own composition to Shaikh Zainuddīn, Mullā Shihāb, and Khwandamīr, inviting them all to meet him on the day of 'Īd festival at Maing in the Sultānpūr district:

Shaikh and Mullā Shihāb, and Khwandamīr, come all three, or two, or one.[2]

They have been cited as poets and praised for varied accomplishments by Sām Mīrzā.[3]

Badāūnī styles Mullā Shihāb as Maulānā Shihābuddīn and speaks very highly of his learning. He quotes an instance of his overcoming once in discussion with the famous Traditionalist Mīr Jamāluddīn in Khurāsān. He

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1 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 605.

2 Ibid., p. 683.

3 Tuhfa i Sāmī, fols. 50; 154a, Or. 648, U. L. C.

died in India during the reign of Humāyūn when the latter was returning from Gujarāt in 942 A.H.[1] Khwandamīr the famous historian found the year of his death in the most suggestive phrase "شهاب‌الثاقب" (Shihābus Sāqib).

Āhī—" A good ode-writer and sāhib i Dīwān."[2]

Āhī and Hilālī.

Hilali:—" Correct and graceful though his odes are, they make little impression. There is a Dīwān of his; and there is also the poem (masnavī) in the Khafīf measure, entitled 'Shāh u darwīsh.' It is heard said that Hilālī had a very retentive memory and that he had by heart thirty or forty thousand couplets, and the greater part of the two *quintets* all most useful for the minutiæ of prosody and the art of verse."[3]

Bū Sā'īd.

" An unrivalled man was the wrestler Muhammad Bū Sā'īd; he was foremost among the wrestlers, wrote verse too, composed themes and airs, one excellent air of his being in Chārgāh (four time), and he was pleasant company. It is extraordinary that accomplishments as his should be combined with wrestling."[4]

Bannā'ī.

He was a native of Herāt, and took this pen-name after his father's profession 'bannā' which means an architect or builder.

" His odes have grace and ecstacy. He was very intelligent and quick to learn things. Within a few months he learnt music and composed several works. At such a marvellous achievement all amazed, 'Alī Shīr Bēg praised him. His musical

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1 Badāūnī, Vol. I, p 342.

2 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 289.

3 Ibid., p. 290.

4 Ibid., p. 292.

compositions are perfect. He was 'Alī Shīr Bēg's rival."[1]

"'Abdullāh, the masnawī-writer, was from Jām and was the Mullā's sister's son. Hātifī was his pen-name. He wrote poems in emulation of the Two Quintets, and called them Haft Manzar (seven sights) in imitation of the Haft Paikar (seven figures). In emulation of the Sikandar Nāma, he composed the Timūr Nāma. His most renowned masnawī is Lailā and Majnūn, but its reputation is greater than its charm."[2]

Hātifī.

Sām Mīrzā assigns him a high rank among poets, and places him above many of his contemporaries in the art of Masnawī-writing.[3]

11. Haidar Mīrzā Dūghlāt.

Bābur has noticed Haidar Mīrzā (then only a boy of 12), as a writer and a poet, but not as a historian, which is his subsequent qualification :

> "Khūb Nigār's son was Haidar Mīrzā. He has a hand left in everything, penmanship and painting . . . Moreover he is a born poet, and in a petition written to me even his style is not bad."[4]

Muhammad Haidar Mīrzā Gūrkān Dūghlāt Chaghtā'ī, the author of the Tārīkh i Rashīdī, was born in 1499 A.D., and died in 1551 A.D. He was Bābur's cousin and remained for some time in his service at Andijān. After Bābur's death he came to India in 946 A.H. (1539 A.D.), and lived here in the service of Humāyūn till 958 A.H. (1551 A.D.), when he was put to death by some rebel chiefs in Kashmīr, of which he was at first appointed

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1 Ibid., 286.
2 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 288.
3 Tuhfa i Sāmi, Or. 648, fol. 104a, U. L. C.
4 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 22.

Governor but had subsequently become an independent ruler during Humāyūn's exile. His work Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī was completed in Kashmīr in the year 953 A.H.,[1] and is divided into two parts :

(i) History of the Khāns of the Mongols.

(ii) Memoirs of the author's life and of other Chaghtā'i princes.

"It is the production of a learned and accomplished man . . . and interspersed with geographical accounts of countries especially to the East of Māwarā-un-Nahr little known in Europe. It would form a most valuable accompaniment to the commentaries of Bābur which it illuminates in every page."[2]

Mārkhwand and Khwandamīr.

Muhammad bin i Khwāwand Shāh bin i Mahmūd, commonly called Mīrkhwand, was born in 837 A.H. and died at the age of 66 in 903 A.H. He is the author of a well-known work Rauzatus Safā which he wrote and dedicated to his patron Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī. It is a universal history of Prophets, Khulafā, and kings up to the author's time, and is considered a consummate work as a book of reference. Khwandamīr was his grandson. His full name was Ghiyāsuddīn bin i Humāmuddīn surnamed Khwandamīr. He is the author of Habībus-Siyar which like that of his grandfather's is a general history from the earliest times down to his own. He was born in Herāt in 880 A.H. and died in Gujarāt (India) in 941 A.H. Besides Habībus-Siyar, which he undertook at the desire of Ghiyāuddaulah Amīr Muhammad al Husainī[3] (a person much interested in history), and completed at the encouragement given

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[1] Tārīkh i Rashīdī, fol. 96b, Or. 157, B.M.

[2] Erskine, Bābur and Humayūn, Vol. I, p. 192.

[3] Habībus-Siyar, Preface p. 3, Tihrān, 1270 A.H.

by the governor of the town Khwājā Habībullāh,[1] after whose name the book is called, he is the author of the following works :

1. Dastūrul wuzarā [Code for Ministers]
2. Ma'āsirul Mulūk [Deeds of Kings]
3. Makārim i Akhlāq [High Morals]
4. Muntakhab i Tārīkh i Wassāf [Selections from the History of Wassāf]
5. Akhbārul Akhyār [News of the Pious]
6. Khūlāsatul Akhbār [Summary of Events][2]
7. Qānūn i Humāyūni.[3] [Laws of Humāyūn].

The last which is a versified history of Humāyūn's administration was composed in India between 927 A.H. and 935 A.H., when the author was living under that emperor. He came to India in 934 A.H. and was favourably received by Bābur. After the latter's death he attached himself to the emperor Humāyūn.

Sām Mīrzā.

He was the son of Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī. Having rebelled against the lawful authority of his brother, Shāh Tahmāsp, was thrown into prison, and subsequently put to death in 984 A.H. He is the author of a biographical work entitled Tuhfa i Sāmī which was completed in 968 A.H.[4] It is divided into the following Sahīfās (or sections) :

1. Shāh Ismā'īl and contemporary rulers.
2. Sayyids and the learned.

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1 Ibid., p. 4.

2 Habībus-Siyar, p. 4, Bombay edition, 1852.

3 Elliot, History of India, Vol. IV, p. 143, London, 1872.

[*Note.* - This work is mentioned by Abul Fazl as Humāyūn Nāma.]

4 Tuhfa i Sāmī, fol. 213a. Or. 648, U. L. C.

3. Other respectable men who though not poets, did occasionally write poetry.
4. Vazīrs and authors.
5. First-rate poets and learned men.
6. Poets of Turkish race.
7. Other common writers.

The work is rare and in subject-matter similar to Daulat Shāh's Tazkiratush Shu'rā. It gives almost all the contemporary poets cited by Bābur in his autobiography. He also possessed a fine poetic taste. A beautiful verse of his, which vies in elegance with that of any of the best poets of Persian language is quoted from his compositions as follows :

[1] حاصل عمر نثار ره یاري کردم
شادم از زندگي خویش که کاري کردم

The product of my life I sacrificed at the path of a beloved,
I am glad of my life that I performed a deed.

Mīrza Barkhurdār Turkmān.

He is the author of a rare work "Ahsanut Tawārīkh," also called 'Ahsanus Siyar.'

"The only copy known to me is the imperfect one in the library of Sāhib Zāda 'Abdus Samad Khān of Rāmpūr, which recounts in great detail the relations between Bābur and Shāh Ismā'īl, to whom the book was dedicated. The book is noteworthy because the author is a Shī'a who wrote with the professed object of correcting

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[1] Tuhfai Sāmī, Or. 648, fol. 211a, U.L.C.

Habībus-Siyar. The book was finished in 937 A.H.[1]

Mīrzā Muhammad Sālih.

"His odes are tasty but better flavoured than correct. There is a Turkī verse of his also, not badly written. He went to Shaībak Khān later on and found complete favour . . ."[2]

He is the author of a versified history of Bābur's great antagonist Shaibānī Khān entitled "Shaibānī Nāma." It is in Turkī language and is therefore out of present consideration. Bābur's opinion about it is that "It is feeble and flat."[3]

Daulat Shāh Samarqandī.

Daulat Shāh bin-i-'Alāud-daulah Bakhtishāh Samarqandī is the author of a well-known biographical work entitled "Tazkiratush Shu'arā" (or the lives of poets. It is dedicated like Mīrkhwand's Rauzatus Safā to Mīr 'Ali Shīr Nawā'ī. He had also good taste for poetry and composed verses both in Persian and Turkī. Like his patron he was a Turk but unlike him he decided in favour of the more polished Persian, to be the literary medium, and left his principal work in that and not in Turkī. Besides him there were many other poets of Turkish descent like Maulānā Āhī,[4] Tufailī[5] Wafāī,[6] etc., who composed chiefly in Persian, and are famous as Persian poets.[7] 'The Turkī dialect with a very few exceptions like Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī and Bābur, had not attained the recognition of the cultured classes as a literary medium. This is why Daulat Shāh wrote in

1 Rushbrook-Williams, An Empire-builder of the 16th Century, Preface, p. viii.

2 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 289.

3 Ibid.

4 Sām Mīrzā Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, Or. 648 fol. 195a., U.L.C.

5 Ibid., fol. 196 a.

6 Ibid., fol. 200a.

7 Ibid.; also, Bābur's Memoirs, pp. 290, 278, and 38.

Persian. The work is at places inaccurate in dates which shows that the author relied more on hearsay evidence and did not revise or collate it with other existing historical material. But for this slight carelessness, the work is admirable in its notices of Persian poets from the beginning to the author's time. The poetical extracts produced from their works as specimens of their composition throw much light on the refined poetic taste of the author himself. Incidentally the work furnishes a historical record of the sovereigns in whose reigns the poets flourished. The work was completed in 892 A.H.,[1] eight years before the death of the author. A good text was published under the editorship of Prof. Browne in 1901.

Gulbadan Begum.

Daughter of Bābur, born in 929 A.H., and died at the advanced age of 82, in 1011 A.H. She wrote down certain events of Bābur and Humāyūn in a work entitled "Humāyūn Nāma," at the request of Akbar. At her father's death which took place in 937 A.H., she was only eight years old, and consequently did not make much attempt to write about him. It is not a history in its proper sense but a record of domestic events of the royal houses, and hence of unique value as a supplement to other existing contemporary histories of the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn.[2]

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1 Dawlat Shāh, Tadkiratush Shu'rā, title-page. Edited by Prof. Browne, London, 1901.

2 The Manuscript which had long been given up for lost was unearthed by the industry and zeal of Mrs. Beveridge who also fully translated it into English, and added useful notes and appendices. It is a happy recollection that the work of a woman in the East was discovered and edited by a woman in the West. It was printed and published for the first time in 1902 under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Shaykhul Islām Saifuddīn Ahmad was of the line of that Mullā Sa'duddīn (Mas'ūd) Taftāzānī whose descendants from his time downwards have given the Shaykhul Islām to Khurāsān. He was a very learned man admirably versed in the Arabian sciences and the traditions, most God-fearing and orthodox. Himself a Shāfi'ī,[1] he was tolerant of all the sects. People say he never once in 70 years omitted the congregational prayer. He was martyred when Shāh Isma'īl took Herī (916 A.H.); there now remains no man of his honoured line."[2]

Mullā Saif-uddīn Ahmad Taftāzānī

He is styled by Sām Mīrzā as second Aristotle and Plato of Greece.[3] He was undoubtedly one of the greatest philosophers of the age and wrote several standard works some of which are the following:

Jalāluddīn. Dawwānī.

1. Akhlāq-i-Jalālī [The Ethics of Jalāluddīn]. Its basis is a much earlier work known as Kitābut Tahārat written in Arabic language by Abū 'Alī-bin-i-Muhammad ibn-i-Miskvaih. It was first translated into Persian by Nasīruddīn Tūsī at the request of the governor of Kūhistān: Nāsiruddīn Muhtashim: after whose name it was subsequently called. Two and a half centuries later Jalāluddīn Dawwānī prepared a new edition with the help of these two predecessor works under the title "Akhlāq-i-Jalālī."

His other works are summed up as follows:

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[1] This is one of the four principal schools of thought in Islām known as (i) Hanafi; (ii) Hunbalī; (iii) Mālikī; and (iv) Shāfi'ī.

[2] Memoirs of Bābur, p. 283.

[3] Tuhfa i Sāmī, fol. 52a, ut supra.

2. Sharh-i-Haikal.
3. Isbāt-i-Wājib [On the Existence of God].
4. Risāla-i-Zaurā [On Sūfīsm].
5. Hāshiya-i-Shamsiya.
6. Sharh-i-ʻAqā'id.
7. Marginal notes on Sharh-i-Tajrīd.

He died according to Hājī Khalfa in 908 A.H.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Gwāliarī.

"Shaykh Muhammad Ghaus, a darwish-like man, (was) not only very learned but (had) a large following of students and disciples."[1] He was a descendant of the famous saint Shaikh Bā Yazīd of Bistām, and a regular disciple of two great Sūfīs Shaikh Zuhūr and Hājī Hamīduddīn. In his youth he spent 12 years of his life in asceticism in the jungle lying at the foot of the Chunar hills, and was ever afterwards held in great veneration by the people of Hindūstān. During the disturbances that arose through the invasions of Shīr Shāh he repaired to Gujarāt where the most distinguished scholar of the age Shaikh Wajīhuddīn entered into his discipleship. Badāūnī having seen him once at Āgra describes the event as follows:

[2] فقير اورا در سنه ۹۶۶ه روزي در بازار آگره از دور
ديدم كه سواره ميگذشت و ازدحام عام برگرد و پيش او
چنانكه مجال عبور احدي دران جمعيت نبود و از
بسياري تواضع در جواب سلام خلائق از يمين و يسار
سر او يك لحظه آرام وقرار نداشت ..... چون صحبت
او بخانخانان بيرمخان و شيخ گدائي راست

1 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 539.

2 Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 5.

نيامده رنجيده بگواليار رفت , بتكميل مريدان مشغول شد , خانقاهے تعمير فرموده ... خود دران وادي تصنيف ميكرد -

> I saw him one day from at a distance when he was riding in the market of Āgra in the year 966 A.H., and dense crowds of people surrounded him so that none could dare find his way through that congregation. And on account of great courtesy in answer to salutations of the public from right and left, his head never took rest for a moment. Since his association with the Khān-i-Khānān : Bairām Khān, and Shaikh Gadā'ī, was not agreeable to him, he went aggrieved to Gwaliār and busied himself there in completing the course of his instructions to his disciples ; and having built a monastery there, himself wrote books in that valley.

Bābur had such a respect for him that he pardoned the excesses of one of his staunch enemies merely because the Shaikh had interceded for him :

> "On Wednesday Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus came in from Gwaliār to plead for Rahīm Dād. As Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus was a pious and excellent person Rahīm Dād's faults were forgiven for his sake."[1]

Of the many works ascribed to him by Badāūnī only one is mentioned by name, *viz.*, : 'Risāla-i-Ghausiya,' which is at the same time condemned by him and all true believers as rank heresy. Its publication was one of the

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[1] Memoirs of Bābur, p. 690.

causes of the indifference shown to him by Bairm Khān. His other works are: 'Jawāhir-ul-Khamsa' and 'Gulzār-ul-Abrār.' The latter is a most important work on Sūfīsm, and deals exclusively with the Sūfīs of India and their practices, teachings, and utterances. The dates on which they expired and the places where they were buried are also carefully mentioned. One of his disciples who remained all his life in his service and attended him in his travels, wrote a work entitled "Manāqib-i-Ghausiya" giving a brief sketch of the Shaikh's life and teachings. It is a record of mysterious events and prophesies from a disciple's point of view, and should be read with caution. He died at Āgra at the age of 80 in 970 A.H., and was buried at Gwalior. The date of this incident was found by one of his learned disciples Mullā Isma'īl 'Atā'ī in the pharse:

[1] بندۀ خدا شد

A creature (or a slave) of God departed.

Badāūnī tells us that owing to Shaikh's erudition he himself once seriously thought of becoming his pupil and of reading with him certain books, but simply for the fact that the latter rose in respect for the infidels, he abstained and "remained destitute of that boon."[2]

Still he seems to have been much impressed by the Shaikh's spirituality and says that when he first saw him at Āgra, he noticed a strange sort of freshness and gleam in the face of the saint in spite of his old age.[3] It is significant that Bābur's grandson Akbar, during the

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol. II. p. 63.
[2] Ibid. p. 64.
[3] Ibid.

Shaikh's visit to Āgra in 966 A.H., had entered into his discipleship, and this was probably the reason for the latter's arrival and stay in the town. Nizāmuddīn Ahmad tells us that Akbar was so very favourably disposed towards the Shaikh that he sanctioned a permanent grant of one crore as Shaikh's personal allowance for life.[1]

He was an accomplished scholar of Turkī, Arabic, and Persian, who filled the high office of "صدر" (State Secretary) in the service of Bābur in India. The latter had a very high opinion of his scholarship and formidable pen. On the occasion when Shaikh Zain wrote the 'farmān' announcing Bābur's renunciation of wine, the latter remarked thus :

Shaikh Zain-uddīn.

> "Shaykh Zayn wrote down the 'farmān' with his own elegance, and his fine letter was sent to all my dominions."[2]

At another occasion when he wrote 'fath Nāma,' or the letter of victory over the formidable Rājpūt army of Rānā Sangā, Bābur paid it a high tribute of praise and reproduced it in his Memoirs as a perfect document.[3]

Badāūnī says that he was one of the greatest scholars of the age and was the first to translate into Persian the Turkī Memoirs of Bābur. He also wrote a commentary on 'Mubayyan' a treatise written by Bābur on Hanafī jurisprudence.

He was known in India as Zainuddīn Khwāfī. His position as a poet is as great as that of a scholar. He wrote poetry under the pen-name 'Wafā'ī.' Two of his quatrains which represent Indian taste in poetic grace are quoted below :

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1 Tabaqāt i Akbarī p. 393.
2 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 553.
3 Ibid, p. 559.

آرمیدی برقیباں و رمیدی از ما[1]
ماچه کردیم و چه دیدی چه شنیدی از ما
بهر دل بردن ما حاجت بیداد نبود
می‌سپردیم اگر می‌طلبیدی از ما

Thou didst rest with the rivals, and fled from us,
What have we done? and what didst thou see and hear from us?
To carry off our heart, no need was there for this cruelty,
We would have surrendered it to thee, hadst thou asked it of us.

The other which cannot with any hope of success be translated is as follows:

غم‌گریباں گیر شد سر در گریباں چوں کشم[2]
شوق دامنگیر آمد پا بداماں چوں کشم
اے گریبانم ز شوقت پاره دامن چاک چاک
بے‌تو پا در دامن و سر در گریباں چوں‌کشم

Of all the works that he wrote the most important is the history of the conquest of Hindūstān by Bābur, which is referred to by Badāūnī as an exquisite and faithful exposition of current events in India at that time. He died at Chunār in 940 A.H., three years after the death of Bābur, and was buried there within the precincts of the college of which he was the founder.

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 341.
[2] Ibid, p. 472.

"He was called the born Mullā, because in Aulugh Bēg's time he used to give lessons when 14 years old. He was very learned, the most so of his time. People say he was nearing the rank of Ijtihād,[1] but he did not reach it. It is said of him that he once asked: 'How should a person forget a thing heard?' A strong memory he must have had.''[2]

Mullā Zāda Mullā 'Usmān.

Husain bin i 'Alī al Wā'iz surnamed Kāshifī was a great theologian in the time of Sultān Husain Mīrzā. He was well-versed in Muslim Jurisprudence and held in high esteem by the people of Herāt. He was a man of versatile talents and left good many works on different subjects such as Ethics, Moral Philosophy, Muslim History and Jurisprudence.

Mullā Husain Wā'iz Kāshifī.

Some of his best known works are the following:

1. Tafsīr i Husainī—which he named Mawāhib i Auliyā—is a commentary on the Qur'ān undertaken at the desire of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī.'
2. Akhlāq i Muhsinī—a work on moral philosophy. It has been a popular text-book in almost all the Oriental madrasahs in Upper India. It was finished in 900 A.H., and dedicated the same year to Sultān Husain Mīrzā.
3. Rauzatush Shuhadā [or the Gardens of the Martyrs] is a historical work dealing with the life of the Prophet, and the battle of Karbela. It was finished in 906 A.H., and was similarly dedicated to Sultān Husain Mīrzā.
4. Lubbul Lubāb—It is an abstract of Maulānā Jalāluddīn Rūmī's Masnawī.
5. Anwār i Suhailī (or the Lights of the Canopus) is a most popular work on morals. Like Akhlāq-

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1 *Vide* F. N. 2, p. 150, Supra.

2 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 284.

i Muhsinī, it was a prescribed text-book for the maktabs, and after their extinction has since continued to be used in English schools and colleges in almost all the Universities of India. Its basis is a Sanskrit story of Kalīlah and Damnah. The already existing Persian version of his predecessor (Maulānā Nasrullāh) not being a good one, the author was asked by an Amīr of the Sultān's court named Nizāmuddīn Shaikh Ahmad Suhailī to rewrite it in his elegant and masterly style after whose name the book is called. It enjoyed in India, when maktabs were in vogue, a popularity like Sa'dī's Gulistān and was held in high esteem. Its style in putting speeches in the mouths of animals, does not seem to accord with the modern European taste, nor does its ornate diction interspersed with verses. But the same, specially the latter, which is essentially Persian, was considered as a merit of writing in those days everywhere in Persia, Herāt, Turkistān, and Samarqand, and cannot on that score be condemned. The book represents the 'floridity' of Persian literature of this and the later periods, and teaches moral lessons in the form of short didactic stories which suit the taste and imagination of the younger generation for whom it was primarily intended. A similar preceding work in Arabic language is to be found in the admirable series of the "Ikhwānus Safā"[1]

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[1] A society of learned men founded at Baghdād in about the middle of the tenth century A.D., for the promotion of learning and sciences. They wrote and published many treatises on different subjects of which the above was one.

wherein the beasts, the birds, the insects, and the fish, had each their say with typical floridity and yet the book is considered as finest in Arabic literature.

6. Makhzanul Inshā—A work on epistolography. As mentioned in the Preface it was written for Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī in the year 907 A.H.
7. Sab-'i-Kāshifiyyah—It is a work on astrology, and deals with the influence of stars and other celestial bodies.
8. Sahīfa i Shāhī—It is in subject-matter similar to Makhzanul Inshā, and deals with Persian and Arabic forms of letters.

There are some other works also like :

9. Matla'ul Anwār.
10. Latā i fut Tawā'īf.
11. Asrār i Qāsimī, etc.,

which do not rank in popularity with the above. Khwandamīr calls him Kamāluddīn Husain Wā'iz Kāshifī, and says that he was a preacher of great fame in Herāt, and used to deliver his lectures, which were mostly on ethics and moral philosophy, in the Imperial college and other buildings in the town.[1] He died in 910 A.H., and was ever afterwards known as Wā'iz meaning 'a preacher.'

Khwāja Maulānā Qāzī.

His real name was 'Abdullāh, but he was commonly called as Khwāja Maulānā Qāzī.

" On his father's death his line went back to Shaikh Burhānuddīn 'Alī Qilich. The family had

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1 Habībus-Siyar, Vol. III, Pt. 3, p. 341, Bombay, 1273, A.H.

come to be the Religious Guides and Pontiff and Judge of the Farghāna country. He was a disciple of His Highness 'Ubaidullāh (Ahrārī) and from him had his up-bringing."[1]

Mīr Murtāz.

" He was well-versed in the sciences of philosophy and metaphysics; he was called ' Murtāz ' (ascetic), because he fasted a great deal."[2]

Mīr Muhammad Yusūf.

" He was the pupil of the Shaikhul Islām and afterwards was advanced to his place. In some assemblies he, in others, Qāzī Ikhtiyār took the high place."[3]

Qāzī Ikhtiyār.

" He was an excellent Qāzī, and wrote a treatise in Persian on Jurisprudence, an admirable treatise; he also, in order to give elucidation, made a collection of homonymous verses from the Qur'ān. Talk turning on the Bāburī script, he asked me about it, ... I wrote it out . . . he went through it letter by letter, and having learned its plan, wrote something in it then and there."[4]

Mīr 'Ataullāh Mashhadī.

"He knew the Arabian sciences well, and also wrote a Persian treatise on rhyme. The treatise is well done, but it has the defect that he brings into it, as his examples, couplets of his own, and assuming them to be correct, prefixes to each. He wrote another on the curiosities of verse,

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1 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 89.

2 Ibid, p. 284.

3 Ibid, p. 285.

4 Ibid.

entitled 'Badā-i'us Sanāi'—a very well-written treatise.[1]"

"Disciple and pupil both of Mawlānā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī, he had read aloud most of the Mullā's poems in his presence, and wrote a plain exposition of the Nafhāt. He had good acquaintance with exoteric sciences, and in the esoteric ones also was very successful."[2]

Mullā 'Abdul Ghafūr Lārī.

His best known work is the commentary on Jāmī's Nafhātul 'Uns, which he undertook for the benefit of Jāmī's son Ziyā'uddīn Yūsuf who used to meet with difficulties in understanding the text. He died in 912 A.H., in Herāt,[3] and was buried by the side of his master whose eminent pupil he was. The following verse in his praise with its authorship assigned to Jāmī, has been noticed on the fly-leaf of a manuscript copy of the commentary of Nafhāt:

[4]جای که فضل و دانش مرغے بود شکاری
بازیست تیزپرواز عبدالغفور لاری

At a place where learning and wisdom is a bird of prey,
'Abdul Ghafūr Lārī is a swift-flying hawk.

Mīr Jamāluddīn Muhaddis.

Mīr Jamāluddīn the Traditionalist .... had no equal in Khurāsān for knowledge of the Muhammadan Traditions."[5]

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1 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 285.

2 Ibid, p. 284.

3 *Note*: Beale mistaking Lārī for Lāhorī fixes the town Lāhore as his native place [Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 4.]

4 B.M. MSS. or. 218, fol. 13a.

5 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 284.

"Being well-versed in the sciences of philosophy, logic, and rhetoric, he was able to find much meaning in a few words, and to bring it out opportunely in conversation. There was no better Muhtasib." [1]

Maulānā Shaikh Husain

He was learned in Traditions and Theology, and was one of the readers of the Khutba in the name of Bābur at the mosque in Delhī on Friday, Rajab 15th, 932 A.H. His other partner was Shaikh Zainuddīn. [2]

Maulānā Mahmūd.

Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī.

Of calligraphers, besides Bayānī,—the poet—already noticed, there was one Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī who is mentioned by Bābur as the most eminent of all:

"Of fine pen-pen there were many; the one standing out in 'nasta'līq' was Sultān 'Alī of Mashhad, who copied many books for the Mīrzā, and for 'Alī Shīr Bēg." [3]

These two are described as the best painters of the age. Of Bihzād, Bābur remarks that his work was very dainty, but he did not draw beardless faces well and used greatly to lengthen the chin. He was very skilful at drawing bearded faces. [4] "Shāh Muzaffar was very neat in his work and drew dainty pictures, representing the hair very daintily. He died when on his way to fame." [5]

Bihzād and Muzaffar.

1 Ibid, p. 283.
2 Ibid, p. 471.
3 Ibid, 291.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.

Shaikhī Nāyī, Qul Muhammad, Shāh Qulī.

These three, besides Bayānī who is already noticed under poets, were famous musicians and instrumentalists. Shaikhī Nāyī played the *Nay* (or the lute) skilfully and hence called by that name :

"He once produced a wonderful air on the flute, Qul Muhammad could not reproduce it on the guitar, so declared it a worthless instrument ; Shaykhī Nāyī at once took the guitar from Qul Muhammad's hands and played the air on it well and in perfect tune. They say he was so perfect in music that having once heard an air, he was able to say 'This or that is the tune of so and so's, or so and so's flute.' " [1]

" Shāh Qulī was the guitar player. He was of ' Irāq, came to Khurāsān, practised playing, and succeeded. He composed many airs, preludes, and works." [2]

Besides the above poets and scholars noticed by Bābur as his contemporaries, there were in India many, of whom only a prominent few are incidentally mentioned by Farishta as follows :

[3] نقل است که زناردارے یودھن نام در موضع
کایتھن سکونت داشت روزي در حضور مسلمانان اقرار
کرد که اسلام حق است و دین من نیز درست است
این سخن ازو شایع شده بگوش علما رسید قاضی
پیاده و شیخ بدر که در لکنوتي بودند نقیض یکدیگر

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid

3 Farishta, pp. 335 and 336.

فتوی می‌دادند اعظم‌همایون بن خواجه بایزید
حاکم آن ولایت زناردار را مع قاضی و شیخ مذکور
بخدمت پادشاه بسنبهل فرستاد و چون پادشاه را
باستماع مذاکره علمی رغبتے تمام بود علماے نامی
را از اطراف طلبیده مجلس بحث ترتیب داد و تفصیل
اسامی آنها اینست که میان قادر بن شیخ خواجو و
میان عبدالله بن الهداد از طلنه و سید محمد بن
سعید خان از دهلی و ملا قطب‌الدین و ملا الهداد
صالح از سرهند و سید امان و سید برهان و سید احسن
از قنوج آمدند و جمعی از امرا که همیشه همراه پادشاه
می‌بودند مثل صدرالدین قنوجی و میان عبدالرحمن
ساکن سیکری و میان عزیزالله سنبهلی ایشان
نیز دران معرکه حاضر شدند -

It is related that a cord-wearer (*i.e.*, Brahman) Yūdhan by name lived in the village Kāyathan. One day he professed in the presence of the Muslims that Islām is right, and that his religion too, is right. This speech of his reached the ears of the 'Ulamā. Qāzī Piyārah and Shaikh Badr who were in Lakhnautī passed judgments contradicting each other. A'zam Humāyūn, son of Khwāja Bā Yazīd—the ruler of that province—sent the cord-wearer together with the Qāzī and the said Shaikh before the king at Sambhal. And since the king was greatly disposed to hearing the literary discussions, he sent for the renowned scholars from the neighbouring sides, and arranged a meeting for the debate. Details of their names are given below :

1. Miyān Qādir bin-i-Shaikh Khwājū : and

2. Miyān 'Abdullāh bin-i-Ilāh Dād—from Talna.
3. Sayyid Muhammad bin-i-Sai'd Khān—from Delhi.
4. Mullā Qutbuddīn, and
5. Mullā Ilāh Dād Sālih—from Sirhind.
6. Sayyid Amān,
7. Sayyid Burhān, and
8. Sayyid Ahsan—came from Qannauj; and a number from among aristocrat class who always accompanied the king like:
9. Sadruddīn of Qannauj, and
10. Miyān 'Abdur Rahmān of Sīkrī, and
11. Miyān 'Azizullāh of Sambhal, also appeared in that debate.

Others whose names appear elsewhere are as follows:

12. Qāzī 'Abdul Wāhid Shaikh Tāhir of Thanesar, and
13. Shaikh Ibrāhīm, were the king's Privy-councillors.
14. Mullā Chaman—was the King's Chamberlain, and Chief Privy-Councillor.
15. Shaikh Baha'uddīn of Delhi—was one of the greatest saints and scholars of the time. Sikandar Lodī had read with him the Elementary Arabic Grammar known as 'Mīzān.'

It may be noted in this connection that the words:

بدان اسعدك الله تعالى في الدارين

Know thou: God bless thee most in both the worlds.

which have ever since mysteriously appeared at the beginning of every manuscript and

printed edition of this treatise, originated from that learned saint who had repeated them thrice before making Sikandar Lodī read the text.

16. Miyān Bhūrā—He was a theologian, and Sultān's Minister of Justice.

17. Shaikh Jamālī Kambōh of Delhī - was the famous scholar and poet of Sikandar's court. Badāūnī tells us that Sultān Sikandar Lodī used to show him his verses for correction and improvement. He was one of the best pupils of Jāmī and had received the latter's recognition during his discipleship at Herāt. The following says Badāūnī are from one of his most elegant lyric poems which are very popular and widely sung in India :

[1] طال شوقی الی منازلکم
ایها الغائبون عن نظري
روز و شب مونسم خیال شماست
فاسئلوا عن خیالکم خبري

My fond desire towards the stages of your halt increased,
O, vanishers from my sight !
Day and night my boon companion is your thought
Ask then of your thoughts my news.

His verses on love are of a pure delicate beauty. Some are quoted from Farishta as follows :

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1 Badāūnī, Vol. I., p. 325.

مارا ز خاك كويت پيراهنست برتن[1]
آنهم ز آب ديده صد چاك تادامن

From the dust of his street is the dress on my body,
That too has hundred rents up to the skirt owing to the tears of my eye.

مرا از تيرهاے او پر از پر گشت هر پهلو[2]
كنون پرواز خواهم كرد سوئے آن كمان ابرو

Every side of my body became full of feathers on account of his arrows,
Now I will fly to that whose eye-brow is shaped like a bow.

Being an illustrious pupil of Jāmī and a regular disciple of Shaikh Sāmsuddīn Kambōh of Delhī, he had a Sūfistic turn of mind and wrote a treatise on Sūfīsm 'Siyarul 'Ārifīn' (or the lives of saints). It deals with the Sūfīs of India beginning with Khwāja Mu'īnuddīn Chistī of Ajmēr,[3] and ending with his own spiritual teacher Shaikh Shamsuddīn of Delhi. Besides this, he is said to be the author of other prose-works which are, unfortunately, not mentioned by name. He was the best poet of Persian of Sikandar's court, and was known among people as "second Khusrau." The year of his death was found in the ingenious phrase : خسرو هند بوده[4]

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[1] Farishta, p. 346.

[2] Ibid.

[3] He is regarded as the head of the Sūfī-band and is revered as the arch-saint of India. Among the Mughal emperors, Akbar was the most devoted adherent, and had travelled thrice from Āgra to Ajmer on foot to pay his homage to the saint.

[4] Bādaūnī, Vol. I, p. 347.

(He was the Khusrau of India.)

18. Shaikh Rājūrī Bukhārī.—He was a leading scholar and saint of considerable influence over the king and the people. Once a war between Sultān Ibrahīm and his opponents was averted merely through his intervention.

(2) Shaikh 'Abdullāh of Talna—His name has been already mentioned by Farishta in connection with the literary debate arranged by Sultān Sikandar Lodī. He ranks very high among the learned men of India. He came from Multān and took his residence at Delhī where he lectured to hundreds of students who gathered to attend from all parts of India. He was the foremost logician of his day and was the first to bring and spread a systematic knowledge of logic in Upper Hindūstān. It is said that over forty distinguished scholars like Miyān Lādan and Jamāl Khān of Delhī, Miyān Shaikh of Gwalior, and Mīrān Sayyid Jalāl of Badāūn were attending his lectures. Even the Sultān himself used to come and sit silently in a corner :

[1] و میگویند که سلطان سکندر در وقت درس
شیخ عبدالله مذکور می آمد و بتقریب اینکه
مبادا خلل در سبق طلبه افتد پنهان در گوشۀ
مجلس آهسته می نشست و بعد از فراغ درس
سلام علیکم گفته با یکدیگر صحبت میداشتند -

And they say that Sultān Sikandar used to come at the time of the above-mentioned Shaikh

1 Ibid, p. 324.

'Abdullāh's lecturing, and fearing lest some disturbance be caused to the lessons of the alumni, sit silently hidden in a corner of the assembly, and after the lecture was finished, having said 'Good morning' they used to associate with one another.

He died in 922 A.H., and the date was found in a verse from the Qur'ān :

أولئك لهم درجات العلى

(It is they for whom there are high ranks.)

(11) Shaikh 'Azīzullāh of Sambhal.—He also came from Multān with Shaikh 'Abdullāh, and took an equal part in the promulgation of the knowledge of higher logic among the alumni in Upper Hindūstān. He took residence at Sambhal, and is said to possess a most wonderful memory ever heard of. He combined secular knowledge with spiritual and could teach any standard Arabic or Persian work without any preparation to any advanced students however prepared they might come.

[1] وبارها بامتحان پیش آمده اسوله لامدفع له می آوردند شیخ مشارالیه درقت افاده معاً حل ساخته

And this was tried many a time. They brought unanswerable questions. The Shaikh in the course of lecturing readily solved them all.

19. Shaikh Ilāh Diya of Jaunpūr.—He was a profound scholar of Arabic and Persian and deeply

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[1] Ibid.

learned in grammar and Muslim Jurisprudence. He is the author of several standard works and ranks with the leading scholars of the day. He wrote a commentary on Hidāyah in several volumes, and a commentary on Kāfiyah, which contributed greatly to his fame. He also wrote some very useful marginal notes on Tafsīr i Madārik and other books which are taught in Arabic institutions even to this day. It is noteworthy that all such distinguished men were patronised by Sikandar Lodī who himself was a lover of learning and took real delight in their debates which he was ever keen to organise and attend :

[1] و سلطان سکندر علماے دیار خویش را جمع کرده
بیك جانب شیخ عبدالله و شیخ عزیزالله و جانب
دیگر شیخ الهدیه و پسرش بهکاری را در بحث معارض
ساخت ؛ آخر چنان معلوم شد که آں دو بزرگوار
در تقریر و ایں دو عزیز در تحریر فائق اند -

And Sultān Sikandar having convened the learned men of his country—with Shaikh ʻAbdullāh and Shaikh ʻAzīzullāh on one side, and, Shaikh Ilāh Diyah and his son Bhikārī on the other, made them discuss in a debate At last this was found out that those two great men in speaking and these two in writing stood unrivalled.

20. Mahmūd bin i Shaikh Ziyāuddīn Muhammad, an accomplished scholar and poet, is the author of the famous Persian lexicon 'Farhang i Iskandarī,' which he called after the name of his master

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1 Ibid, pp. 324-25.

Sultān Sikandar. It is divided into 22 chapters and each chapter into two ' fasls' of which the first treats of simple words and the second of compound. It is an uncommon but at the same time a useful arrangement which reflects on the vast learning of the writer. The work is valuable and has been utilised by later lexicographers. It was completed in 916 A.H. The author states in the preface that he wrote also all kinds of poetry including *qasīda*, *masnawī*, and *ghazal*.

21. Khwāja Shaikh Sa'īduddīn.—We learn about him from the above work in which he is praised by the author for his extraordinary talents and literary patronage. It was mostly due to his help and encouragement that the author brought that work to a finish. It transpires that the work was formally dedicated to Khwāja Sā'īduddīn since the name given to it by the author is not 'Farhang i Iskandarī' but 'Tuhfa tus Sa'ādat (which has a bearing on Sā'īd). His praises were sung by the author in his poetry also.

22. Shaikh Muhammad ibn i Lād of Delhī, a man of versatile knowledge and well-read in Arabic, Persian, and Turkī. His best known work is Muayyidul Fuzalā which in its subject-matter is similar to the above with the exception that it contains three divisions of words :

(i) (Arabic) ; (ii) (Persian); (iii) Turkī.

It was completed in 925 A.H.

23. Kabīr—A Hindī poet briefly noticed on p. 70 in connection with the growth of 'Urdū language. He was the son of a Muhammadan weaver of Benares, and a disciple of Rāmānand, and Shaikh

Taqī.[1] From his very boyhood he evinced a taste for Sufīsm and was fond of the society of spiritual men who could be approached in Benares. Of these one prominent personality was of Rāmānanda, a Hindū ascetic, who taught Vedanta philosophy in a modified and more acceptable form. The boy Kabīr remained under his discipleship for some time and derived benefit from his teachings. After some time feeling dissatisfied with the asceticism taught and practised by the Hindū devotees subjecting themselves to austere bodily mortifications and cutting off their relations from the world, he sought a life compromising with temporal, and found it in the teachings of the Muslim saint, Pīr Taqī, who according to Islamic law forbade the exclusive pursuit of the contemplative life. Kabīr thus remained at the spinning wheel, married a wife, and sang of divine love sometimes going astray and lost in his visions of Truth like ʻAttār, Hāfiz, Sarmad, and other thinkers of the East. Some of his thoughts by way of sample are reproduced below :—

I

O servant, whither art thou going after Me ?
I am beside thee.
I am neither in temple nor in mosque,
Nor in Kaʻba, nor in Kalīsa,
Nor in rites and ceremonies,
Nor in journeys and retirement ;

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[1] A Sufi who had his abode on a hill in the outskirts of Jhānsī in Central India. Also known by the popular names of Bāba Taqī and Taqī Pādishāh.

If thy desire is real, thou shalt see,
And meet Me in no time ;
Kabīr says, O Sadhu ! God is the essence of all breath.

II

Do not go to the garden,
O brother go not there,
In thy *self* is the garden,
Take thy seat on the petals
of the lotus, and then behold,
The Eternal beauty.

III

The moon shines in me,
But my closed eye cannot see it,
The sun and the moon are within me,
The drum of Eternal beauty is sounding loud,
But I am deaf and cannot hear it ;
So long as man talks of his *self*,
His mission remains unfulfilled,
When all love for *self* departs,
The object of his creation is fulfilled.

IV

Underneath the canopy of my Lord,
Millions of suns and moons
And stars shine bright,
His heart is within my heart,
His eye is within my eye,
Oh, could my heart and eye be one,
And my heart's heat be cooled,
Kabīr says, " When thy love is united with the lover,
Then the height of love is achieved."

V

None but a sane man will hear,
The melody which arises in the sky,
He who is the source of all melody,
Fills all vessels with music,
And sits in fullness Himself.

VI

This day is precious above all others,
For today the beloved is in me as my guest,
My chamber and my courtyard are luminous,
with His presence.

VII

Clouds thicken in the sky,
O, listen to their roarings,
The rain comes from the East,
With its thundrous roar,
Take care of the fences and the fields,
Lest the rain make a flood over there.

VIII

I have learned Sanskrit,
Let all men call me learned,
But of what avail is this,
If I roam aimlessly, thirsty,
And parched with the heat of passion,
What for you have put on your head
This burden of vain glory ?
Kabīr says: " Throw it down,
And rush to meet the beloved,
Address Him as your Lord."

IX

The mistress who has parted from her lover,
Sits at the spinning wheel ;
The fortress of her body is strong and beautiful,
The castle of her heart is built high.
She weaves the thread of love,
And makes it look fine,
Kabīr says: " I make the garland of day and night,
The lover when he comes,
And kindly touches me with *his* feet,
I shall present *him* the garland of tears."

In the above lines one can see with the curious blending of Sūfism with Yōgism, the enormous influence exercised by the former on the practical life of a Yōgī. Equally so, it is a departure from the conventional Sūfism which in India was subject to gradual degeneration since its very inception by coming in contact with the ritual performances of asceticism. It was thus a reform which came at the opportune moment when the purity of Persian mysticism here was succumbing to the influence of Hindū Yōga, and imbibing the spirit of their ritual. The essence of his teachings is in the ennobling of Soul independent of bodily austerities which he condemns in the pale of spiritualism as irrational. Being a first disciple of the great Hindū teacher Rāmānanda he was intimately aware of the evils attending on the Hindū system of religious worship which he aimed to reform by a touch of Sūfism. He wished to see the door of spiritual teachings open to all, and not to the privileged class of Brahmans alone. This may be viewed in the broad lesson of the love of Nature which he took to heart and was an ardent teacher thereof. His poetry being in the spoken dialect of the common folk and not in the

high classical Persian came as a direct appeal to the hearts of people who thronged round him and believed in his mysterious powers :

> "Once after the performance of a supposed miracle of healing, he was brought before the emperor Sikandar Lōdī, and charged with claiming the possession of divine powers. But Sikandar Lōdī—a ruler of considerable culture—was tolerant of the eccentricities of saintly persons belonging to his own faith. Kabīr being of Muhammadan birth was outside the authority of the Brahmans, and technically classed with Sūfīs to whom great theological latitude was allowed. Therefore though he was banished in the interest of peace from Benāres his life was spared." [1]

At his death occurred almost the same as happened according to popular legend on the passing away of Hāfiz.[2] Hindūs and Muslims quarrelled with each other,—the former desired to burn his body while the latter to bury it. Kabīr appeared before them smiling and vanished.

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[1] Tagore, Kabīr's Poems, Introduction, p. xvii, London.

[2] It is related by popular tradition that on the death of Hāfiz the orthodox Muslims refused to offer prayers over his body and to shoulder it to the Muslim burial-ground due to his poetical vagaries and unorthodox life. It was decided to take an augury from his verses and the following most suggestive verse came out :

قدم دریغ مدار از جنازهٔ حافظ
که گرچه غرق گناهست میرود به بهشت

Withhold not thy step from the bier of Hāfiz,
For although immersed in sin, he will go to Paradise.

They lifted the shroud and found a heap of flowers instead, which were equally divided and burnt and buried respectively.

Kabīr as a spiritual reformer and founder of a Hindū-Muslim fraternity.

Rāmānanda and his Hindū disciples—while said to believe in theory in the existence of one spiritual God—Rāma—made in practice no departure from idolatry, but remained clung to their old mythological polytheism. Neither there is any ground to suppose that they ever attempted to relax the caste restrictions imposed on religious worship which was conducted exclusively by the Brahmans :

> "Those who follow Rāmānanda are still strictly orthodox in all caste matters."[1]

It was only Kabīr who was the first among his disciples to break off from his teachings, no doubt under the later influence of Sūfīsm, and preach against the manifold Avatārs, the caste, and the ritual, with the result that it attracted a very large number of followers, both from among the Hindūs and the Muslims, who immortalised him as a religious reformer. This is perhaps the first instance in the history of Persian mysticism in India under the Mughal rule that the Sūfī doctrines found entrance into the hearts of the Hindū ascetics who fraternised with them, got common disciples, and thereby began to respect each other's sentiments and devotional performances :

> "Kabīr was the man through whom the leading ideas were popularised. From his time the

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[1] J. N. Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 325. Oxford University Press, 1920.

condemnation of idolatry and polytheism became frequent."[1]

"He does not care whether his words are Hindī, Persian, or barbarous, nor whether his sentences are grammatical or not, so long as they strike home. He was a mystic of great penetration and a poet of considerable power. His best utterances are probably the loftiest work in the Hindī language; and hundreds of his couplets have laid hold of the common heart of Hindūstān."[2]

"Kabīr formed a community, which is known as the 'Kabīrpanth' ('panth' representing the Sūfī-Tarīqat). Since he was altogether opposed to idolatry, he must have made fresh arrangements for the worship of God, but how far he went we do not know. He would be certain to give the Gurū a prominent place in the sect yet he would by no word or act lead men to believe that he or any other teacher was an incarnation of God."[3]

"Although Kabīr denounced Divine incarnation, the books teach that he is an incarnation of the Supreme. Indeed the practice of the sect as a whole is saturated in Hinduism. The sect-mark, the rosary, the mantra, and many other details are conspicuous."[4]

Besides the poets and scholars cited above, Sultān Sikandar Lodī himself was a poet and a great lover of

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1 Ibid., p. 284.
2 Ibid., p. 333.
3 Ibid., p. 335.
4 Ibid., p. 336.

learning. Since his very accession to the throne he encouraged the diffusion of knowledge among his subjects and patronised literary acquisitions. In all public services he had fixed an educational standard according to which he filled the posts. This rule was observed so strictly that people of all creeds seeking Government service were obliged to make a strenuous effort in that direction in order to compete successfully for the best rank. Farishta has made it quite clear by stating that even the Hindūs, who had never before paid any serious attention to Muslim lore, took to studying Persian for the first time in their history in all earnestness.[1] He had fixed gratuities for the learned men in his kingdom and gave stipends to students. He wrote poetry under the pen-name "*Gulrukhi*"[2] (or rose-faced) and was fond of listening to literary discussions which, as is already seen, he encouraged and himself took part in. He died in 924 A.H., leaving his kingdom to his son Ibrāhīm; but the literary atmosphere which he had created prevailed till the latter's defeat by Bābur at Pānīpat in 932 A.H. The date of this event was found in the ingenious phrase شهید شدن ابراهیم [3](martyrdom of Ibrāhīm) by the Indian writers of Persian language.

Sultān Sikandar Lodī himself as a poet and a lover of learning.

24. Brahman—A Hindū poet of Persian language. This is evidently the first instance of its kind being the most immediate result of Sikandar Lodī's educational measure.

Brahman: a Hindū poet of Persian language.

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1 *Vide* supra, p. 75.
2 Farishta, Vol. I, p. 346.
3 Badāūnī Vol. I, p. 336.

Badāūnī's remark about him is as follows:—

[1] و یکے از شعراے عهد سلطان سکندر برهمن بود-
میگویند که باوجود کفر کتب علم رسمي را درس میگفت
و این مطلع ازوست :—

دل خون نشدے چشم تو خنجر نشدے گر
ره گم نشدے زلف تو ابتر نشدے گر

And one of the poets of Sultān Sikandar's reign was Brahman. It is said that in spite of his *infidelity* he used to give teaching on books of the learning of the time; and this opening line which he composed in the metre of Mas'ūd Bēg's ode is from him:

The heart would not have turned into blood, had
not thy eye become a dagger:
The path would not have been lost, had not thy
curly locks flung about in disorder.

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[1] Ibid. p. 323.

CHAPTER VII

Such a quick and methodical advance made by a Hindū citizen towards acquiring a complete knowledge of classical Persian is a marvellous achievement for this period, and serves to show how zealously the Hindūs had set themselves to this task. Certain peculiar words, phrases, construction, and idioms, introduced since into the language and afterwards improved upon by people, were due mostly to this new departure in the history of Persian literature in India. They need a discussion under a separate heading, but a few noteworthy expressions that have been universally adopted by all the great writers of the Mughal period are just for example given below :

Causes of difference in the use of certain words and expressions in India and Persia.

A short list of such words and expressions

Word.	Sense attached in India.	Sense attached in Persia.
سرکار[1] (Sarkār)	(i) A district; Province or jurisdiction. (ii) Term of respect in address as Mr.; Sir; or Lord: also person or presence. (iii) Government. (iv) Treasury.	Its use is restricted to second and third meaning only.

[1] In the first three senses, by Abul Fazl, Badīūnī, and others : in the fourth sense by Farishta, cf. Vol. I, p. 336 :

اگر حکم شوہ کہ تریاک مجرب کہ در خطا می باشد و بالفعل ازان
درسرکار موجوداست بیاو ریم

Word.	Sense attached in India.	Sense attached in Persia.
سرکاری[1] (Sarkārī)	(i) Pertaining to Government. (ii) Control or leadership.	In the first sense only.
صاحب[2] (Sāhib)	In peculiar senses.	In the sense of 'master' or 'owner.'.
چادر مہر آمیز[3] (chādar mihr āmīz).	A royal tent.	+

1 In the first sense by all historians: in the second by Farishta-cf. p. 390, Ibid:

بسرکاری شیخ زین الخ

2 Arabic word meaning 'master' or 'lord.' In India its uses have been very peculiar. The following are noteworthy :—

(a) As a form of address--it has ever been applied to Europeans, and still goes as a synonym for their name.

(b) Used by the Sikhs in the Punjab to denote something holy, *e.g.*, 'Darbār Sáhib' (the holy Sikh Darbār); the 'Granth Sāhib' (the holy book of the Sikhs); and so on.

(c) As a term of familiarity and chiding. In these senses it has been used chiefly by Hindī and Urdū writers :

(familiarity) کہو صاحب کیسے رہے

(chiding) کیوں صاحب پھر رہی لچھن

(d) As a general term of respect.

3 A Persian compound—coined by Humāyūn and used by Gulbadan Bēgum in her work Humāyūn Nāma.

Word.	Sense attached in India.	Sense attached in Persia.
ڈاک چوکی [1] (dāk chaukī).	A post station.	Altogether unknown.
ڈاک خانہ [2] (dāk khāna).	Post Office.	Ditto. Persian equivalent is چاپر خانہ which is Turkish.
جھکر [3] (Jhakkar)	Violent wind.	Unknown.
جھروکہ درشن [4] (Jharūk a darshan).	King's gallery.	Ditto.
شاھزادہ [5] (Shāhzāda)	Prince : (restricted to male members only).	Also used for female members of the royal house.
سلطان [6] (Sultān)	King : (restricted to male members only).	Ditto.

1 A Hindi compound—used by Abul Fazl ; Badāūnī ; Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, and others ; Cf. Tabaqāt i Akbarī, p. 166, Calcutta, 1913.

2 Ibid.

3 Pure Hindi—used by 'Urfī—Cf :

در چاشتگه از شبنم گل گرد نشانــد * آں باد که در هند اگر آید جکر آید

4 A pure Hindī compound—used by Abul Fazl in Ā'īn i Akbarī. Cf ; Ā'īn i Bār : 'آئین بار'

5-6 Their use by Indian writers has been restricted to the male members of the royal house—while Persians make no such distinction. Cf. the use of 'شاھزادہ' and 'سلطان' by the author of 'Ālam Ārā i 'Abbāsī for Shāh Ismā'īl's sister ; while Abul Fazl, Badāūnī, and Farishta always distinguish between a male and a female, and write 'شاھزادی' and 'سلطانہ' for a princess.

Word.	Sense attached in India.	Sense attached in Persia.
کٹهره[1] (katahrah)	A wire-fence or cage.	Unknown.
گهڑي[2] (gharī) ...	Time or hour of the clock: also clock itself.	,,
سه هزاري[3] (seh hazārī) پنج هزاري (panj hazārī) هفت هزاري (haft hazārī) کروري (karōrī).	Words coined in the reign of Akbar to denote respective ranks of nobles.	,,

1 A pure Hindī word used with Persian ' 'izāfat ' by the author of Miftāh ut Tawārīkh : Cf :

روزي پادشاه فيضي راكه بملازمت رفته بود بيرون كٹهرهٔ نقره استاده كرد

2 Same as above :
Used by Bābur in his Turkī Memoirs (Cf. fol. 289-90). Also used by Abul Fazl. Cf. Ā'īn i Akbarī, Vol. II, p. 9 :

و در بيشتر آبادي از نه زياده و از هشت گهڑي كم نبود

3 We read these Persian compounds in the works written after the reign of Humāyūn, and they are apparently the invention of Akbar's minister, Abul Fazl, who used them in the Akbar Nāma, Ā'īn-ī Akbarī, and other official and private documents. Their use was continued by all contemporary and later historians in the reign of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jāhān, and Aurangzēb.

Words.	Sense attached in India.	Sense attached in Persia.
ڈولي [1] (dōlī) ...	A woman's conveyance : a sort of palanquin.	Unknown.
گز [2] (gaz) ...	A yard for measuring cloth or distance.	(Persian equivalent : دراع).
تھانجات [3] (Thāna jāt plural of 'thāna')	Police stations.	Unknown.
روشنائي [4] (Rūshnāī') ...	Ink.	Used in the sense of 'light.' Persian equivalent for ink is 'مرکب' [murakkab].
اُگال [5] (ugāl) ...	Spittle after chewing a beetle leaf.	Unknown.

1 A pure Hindī word used by Abul Fazl—Cf. Akbar Nāma, Vol. III, p. 610 : also Cf. Farishta, p. 422.

وچوں دوچند دولي که پیش میبروند جمعے از پیر زالان نشستہ بود

2 Same as above : Cf. Ā'īn i Akbari, Vol. I, p. 157.

3 Same as above : Used by Nizāmuddīn Ahmad—Cf. Tabaqāt i Akbarī, p. 166.

4 Used in India in the sense of 'ink'; in Persia in the sense of 'light.'

5 A pure Hindī word used by Zuhūri : Cf. his verse :

شود چهرۂ زرد خرشید آل * دهندش اگر نارنینان اگال

Words.		Sense attached in India.	Sense attached in Persia.
چیله [1]	(chēla) ...	A disciple ...	Persian equivalent : مرید - شاگرد
رام رنگی [2]	(rām-rangī)	Wine ...	Unknown Persian equivalent : بادہ شراب می - صہبا
رنگترہ [3]	(rangtara)	Orange ...	Unknown Persian equivalent : نارنج
کچہری [4]	(kachahrí)	Court of Justice	Unknown Persian equivalent : ایوان عدالت
دونہ [5]	(dauna) ...	A bowl made of green leaves.	Unknown.

1 Same as above used by Abul Fazl, Farishta and others.

2 A Hindī compound coined by Jahāngīr for 'wine,' and used in that sense in Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī; also by Tālib Āmulī in the following verse :

نہ ایم منکر صہبا ولیک میگوئم * کہ رامرنگی ماشۂ دگردارد

3 A Persian compound similarly coined by Jahāngīr for 'orange.'

4 A Hindī word used by Badāūnī – Cf. Vol. II, p. 311.

5 Same as above—used by the author of Tārīkh i Dā'ūdī : Or. 197, B. M., f. 64b,

وآں مار را بدست گرفتی وزهرار دربرگی کہ سہ دونہ ساختہ بود انداختی

Words.		Sense attached in India.	Sense attached in Persia.
شاه بهائي [1]	(shāh bhā'ī)	An epithet of Akbar.	Unknown
پهاڑی راجه [2]	(pahārī Rā-ja).	An epithet of Murād.	ditto
شیخو جیو [3]	(shaikhū ji-yo).	An epithet of Jahāngīr.	ditto

A good many other words like "تاهم" (*tā-ham*) meaning 'still,' Persian equivalent "باينهمه"; "حقه" (*huqqa*) meaning 'smoke-pipe,' Persian equivalent "قليان"; "غصه" (*ghussa*) meaning 'anger,' Persian equivalent "خشم"; and so forth used in India, may be quoted. While in Persia a good many words and phrases of Turkish, French, and Russian origin like "قشون" (T.) meaning 'troops'; "ايلات" plural of "ايل" (T.) meaning nomadic tribes; "گمرک" (T.) a custom house; "قشنگ" (T.) beautiful; "يلاق" and "قشلاق" (T.) winter and summer resorts; "اطاق" (T.) a hall or chamber; "موسيو" (F.) Mr. or Sir; "درشکه" and "کالسکه" (R.) vehicles drawn by horses; —and many fresh idioms and compounds under the same influences were gradually introduced into the language and found complete favour with Persian authors.

1 A Persian-Hindī compound used by Shāh Jahān in his childhood as an epithet for Akbar.

2 A pure Hindī name given by Akbar to Murād.

3 A Persian-Hindī compound used as a title for Jahāngīr by Akbar [Nafā'isul Ma'āsir, B. M. MSS. Or., 1761, fol. 53b.]

CHAPTER VIII

From Bābur's time down to Aurangzeb's there is a brilliant row of poets who kept migrating to India from Persia, Bukhāra, Samarqand, Herāt, and Turkistān, being attracted by the munificence of the Mughal and the Deccan courts. Along with them the centre of Persian poetry gradually shifted to India. Their efforts combined with those of the indigenous writers in the field of Persian prose and poetry equal and in certain phases excel those of the Persians themselves, and for this the Mughal period in India stands conspicuous in the history of Persian literature. For a good deal of time Persia had a poor show and compared ill with India both in quality and quantity of the work produced. Nearly all good poets and writers of Persian language since Bābur's great ancestor, Timūr, had come down, or were thinking of coming, to India, and communicating with its rulers. Even the foremost poet and scholar of Bābur's time—Jāmī—who is styled as 'the head of the poet-band,' like his predecessor Hāfiz who flourished in the time of Timūr, was aspiring for India.

Relation of Persian poets with India.

Hāfiz was invited by his neighbour Sultān Ahmad of Baghdad[1] to come his to his court, but he did not choose to leave his native town, although it was not at a great distance. In the meantime he was summoned by Sultān Mahmūd of Deccan and he made for the nearest Persian port, embarked on a ship sent him by the Bahmani king, and but

Hāfiz longing for Deccan.

[1] Dawlat Shāh, Tadhkiratush Shu'ara, edited by Browne, p. 304. Ibid

for the accident of a cyclone would have reached India.[1] All this was due to what he had heard of the boundless patronage of the king from some of his contemporary poets one of whom had just returned from Deccan to Persia.[2] He must have described to Hāfiz the talents of the king who was a lover of Persian poetry and a scholar besides. His court was a resort of poets and men of letters from all parts of Persia, Arabia, and Turkistān. It was for this reason that Hāfiz showed his readiness and expressed his desire to visit Deccan to some of the traders who were going from Shīrāz to India, and they reported this to the king through his learned minister Mīr Faizullāh Injū who readily sent him the expenses of the voyage with rich presents.[3] On abandoning the voyage due to a storm which affrighted Hāfiz he composed an ode and sent it to Mīr Faizullāh. The line in which he gives his reason for not sailing is as follows:

[4] بس آسان می نمود اول غم دریا ببوی دُر
غلط گفتم که یك موجش بصد گوهر نمي ارزد

At first the risk of the sea in the hope of a pearl
appeared to be very easy,
I spoke amiss for a single wave thereof is not
worth a hundred pearls.

When the ode reached Mīr Faizullāh in Deccan, he presented it to his master Sultān Mahmūd Bahmanī who out of respect for the poet sent him a rich reward for his attempt to see him. Farishta writes thus of this incident:

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1 Farishta, p. 577.
2 Ibid.,p. 576.
3 Ibid., p, 577.
4 Dīwān i Hāfiz, p. 42, Calcutta, 1891.

[1] و چون این غزل به میر فیض‌الله رسید روزی
تقریبی کرده در مجلس سلطان محمود شاه قصه
خواجه را از آمدن بهر موز وبر گشتن و غزل فرستادن
بتفصیل باز گفت سلطان فرمود چون خواجه بقصد
دریافت مجلس ما قدم در راه نهاده بود برما واجب
و فرض است که او را از فیض خود محروم نسازیم
پس ملامحمد قاسم مشهدي را که از فضلاي آن دولتخانه
بود هزار تنکه طلاتحویل نموده تا انواع امتعه هند
خرید کرده براي خواجه حافظ بشیراز برد

And when this ode reached Mīr Faizullāh he had one day taken an opportunity to relate in detail in the court of Sultān Mahmud Shāh the story of Hāfiz, his coming to Hurmuz, and returning, and sending the ode. The Sultān said, "Since the Khwāja had put his step in the way with intent to come to our court, it is essential and incumbent on us that we should not deprive him of our benevolence." So he gave to Mullā Mahmūd Qasim Mashhadī who was one of the literati of his court, a thousand 'tankah' of gold in weight to purchase variteies of Indian presents and carry them to Khwāja Hāfiz at Shīraz.

His connection with Bengal.

The ruler of Bengal Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn also was in communication with Hāfiz, and received his verses every now and then. Once he sent him the following hemistich at Shīräz requesting him to build an ode on it:

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[2] Farishta, p. 578.

ساقي حديث سرو وگل و لاله ميرود[1]

O cup-bearer ! the tale of the cypress and the rose and the tulip[2] goeth.

Hāfiz readily complied with his request and sent him the ode which not only was much appreciated by the Sultān but also considered as revelational. The lines bearing on the subject are as follows:

ساقي حديث سرو وگل و لاله ميرود[3]
وين بحث با ثلاثهٔ غساله ميرود
شكر شكن شوند همه طوطيان هند
زين قند پارسی كه به بنگاله ميرود
طي زمان ببين ومكان درطريق عشق
كين طفل يكشبه ره يكساله ميرود
حافظ ز شوق مجلس سلطان غياثدين
خامش مشو كه كار تو از ناله ميرود

1 Dīwān i Hāfiz, p. 62, ut supra.

2 The 'cypress.' 'the tulip,' and the 'rose' were the names of three beautiful slave girls in the Sultān's 'harem.' One day they were taunted by other rival girls as being 'ghassālah' (or body-washers), since they had once washed the king's body being so desired by him during his illness. The taunt which was much resented by the girls was due to the jealousy for their having found favour with the Sultān. They therefore brought the complaint to him who then being in his poetic mood uttered the above hemistich but could not make it into a couplet. He referred it to other poets at his court but they too failed to satisfy him. He thereupon sent it to Hāfiz at Shīrāz.

3 Dīwān i Hāfiz, p. 62.

Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn Pūrbī—who ruled from 1367 to 1377 A.D.—had his pital at Kūr. From Shīrāz to this place it was supposed to be a year's journey.

O cup-bearer! the tale of the cypress and the
rose and the tulip goeth,
A nd this is the subject of dispute with the three
washer-maids ;
All the parrots of Hind would become sugar-
scattering,
Owing to this sugar-candy that goes to Bengal;
See the swift traversing over 'time' and 'place'
on the path of love,
That this infant—a night old—is on its way
to a journey of one year;
O Hāfiz through the eager desire for Sultān Ghiyās-
uddīn's court,
Don't be silent, since thy affair is now going be-
yond lamentation.

Jāmī seeking patronage from Deccan.

Jāmī also was similarly in touch with the Indian courts. One instance of his sending an ode to a grandee in Deccan and awaiting his appreciation and patronage is to be found in the following extract:

[1] طبع گوياي من آں طوطي شکر شکن است
که ز خونابۀ دل لعل بود منقارش
جامي اشعار دلاويز تو جنسی است نفيس
بود آں حسن ادا لطف معاني تارش

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[1] Kulliyāt i Jāmī, p. 274, Lucknow, 1298.
Shaikh Mahmūd Gāwān was renowned for his boundless liberalities and talents. He is called Malik ut Tujjār (or the king of merchants) because in his youth he had travelled to several countries as a high merchant. Himself a poet and a great writer, he has left a work on epistolography—called "Riyāzul Inshā," and a Dīwān consisting of lyric poetry. He held the high office of "Vakil" (or Deputy) under Nizām Shāh and Muhammad Shāh, and for a time held supreme sway in the Kingdom of Gulbarga.

همره قافله هند روان کن که رسد
شرف مهر قبول از ملك التجارش

My eloquent disposition is that sugar-scattering parrot,
That its beak is red with the blood of its heart ;
Jāmī thy attractive verses are a fine commodity,
Its warpings are from beauty of expression, and its threads from nicety of meaning ;
Send them along with the caravan of Hind, so that to them may reach,
The excellence of the honour of acceptance from the 'king of merchants.'

Among Bābur's contemporaries there were many who came to India, and wrote their works here under the Indian patronage. No parallel instance is to be found in history of a period prior to his in which poets and scholars of Persian language migrated to India in such large numbers. It is mostly from his regime or the advent of the Mughal rule that the Persian language in India has acquired its own significance.

CHAPTER IX

The following titles, with the exception of the last one, were given to Bābur during the period of his rule commencing from the date of his accession to the throne of Farghānā down to his last breath in 937 A.H., at Āgra :—

Bābur's titles.

1. Zahīruddīn (the strengthener of the faith)
2. Pādishāh (a vassal king, *vide* p. 37, supra)
3. Nawāb (*Vide* p. 146, supra)
4. Ghāzī (victor in a holy war)
5. Shahinshāh (king of kings)
6. Qalandar (a dervish)
7. Sultān (a king)
8. Khāqān (title of the emperor of China)
9. Firdaus-makānī (dwelling in paradise)

Zahīruddīn

There is some confusion between his name and this title. Some historians write that he was originally named Zahīruddīn and subsequently called Bābur. Thus says Lane-Poole :—

> " As the ill-educated Mongols could not pronounce his Arabic name Zahīruddīn Muhammad, they dubbed him Bābur."[1]

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[1] Bābur, p. 22, ut supra.

Note.—This view is based on Abul Fazl's statement in the Akbar Nāma, while Haidar Mīrzā Dughlāt in his Tārīkh i Rashīdī holds just the opposite view. Cf :

التماس نام از حضرت ایشان قدس سرہ نمودہ اند بخطاب ظهیرالدین
محمد بدشواري جاري شد بابر نام نهادہ داد –

They have begged his holiness for the name. His title Zahīruddīn Muhammad became current with difficulty. His holiness has

The same view is expressed by Rushbrook-Williams who merely copied Lane-Poole. Their only support is Abul Fazl whose authority is evidently weak and is not backed by any historian of Bābur's time. Gulbadan Begum, Bābur's own daughter, has, like Haidar Mīrzā, very clearly stated that Bābur was the name :—

[1] حضرت فردوس مکانی......قبل از تولد حضرت
همایون پادشاه میرزا بابر موسوم و مرسوم بودند -

> His Majesty, Firdaus-makānī, before the birth of Humāyūn Pādishāh, had been named and styled Mīrza Bābur.

Farishta also, Abul Fazl's contemporary, strongly supports Gulbadan Begum and declares that " Zahīruddīn " was a title taken 11 years after, on the coronation day. The versions of Haidar Mīrzā and Gulbadan Begum are perhaps the only contemporary records that throw light on the subject, and are the basis for all subsequent views held by later historians.

Pādishāh

He assumed this title on his return to Cabul in 913 A.H., after Shaibānī Khān's abandonment of Qandhār :

> " Up to that date people had styled Timūr Bēg's descendants " Mīrzā " even when they were ruling ; now I ordered that people should style me as " Pādishāh."[2]

---

named him Bābur.

Haidar Mīrzā lived in Bābur's time, and is the most reliable authority on the subject.

1 Humāyūn Nāma, p. 9, London, 1902.

2 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 344.

This shows that he was the first in the line of Timūr to assume this title which was never before used by any member of that house.

Nawāb.

In his Chief Secretary Shaikh Zain's letter of victory over Rānā Sānga, which Bābur highly appreciated and reproduced in his Memoirs, he was styled as Nawāb :—

[1] فتاح بي منت , فياض بي علت مجدداً بمفتاح
فتح ابواب فيض بر چهره آمال نواب نصرت مال كشود

The Opener who gives without obligation and the bounteous who bestows without cause, has anew, with the key of victory, opened the doors of bounty on the face of hopes of our victorious Nawāb.

[2] اكثر طوائف اقوام از اصحاب كفر و ارباب
اسلام اطاعت و انقياد نواب فرخنده فرجام ما را
اختيار نموده -

Many groups of nations from among the pagans and Muslims have adopted submission and obedience to our fortunate Nawāb.

[3] اما سنكا كافر كه در سوابق ايام دم اطاعت
نواب خجسته انجام ما ميزد اكنون بمضمون
"ابى و استكبر و كان من الكافرين" نموده شيطان
صفت سر كشيده -

---

[1] Bābur Nāma, fol. 316b.
[2] Ibid., fol. 317a.
[3] Ibid.

But Sānga, the pagan, who breathed in earlier times submission to our Nawābship of fortunate end . . .

Ghāzi. This he earned for himself in 933 A.H., after the above victory :

After this success Ghāzī was written among the royal titles.[1]

He also mentions it as a valuable achievement in one of his Turkī poems :

[2] اسلام کو چون آواره یاري بولدوم
کفار و هنود حرب سازي بولدوم
جزم ایلاب ایدیم اوزني شهید اولماقغه
المنةلله که غازي بولدوم

For Islam's sake, I wandered in the wilds,
Prepared for war with pagans and the Hindūs ;
Resolved myself to meet the martyr's death,
Thanks be to God a Ghāzī I became.

Shahinshāh. He was on several occasions styled in the royal 'farmans' as 'Shahinshāh' :

[3] پیش از طلوع آفتاب دولت پادشاهي و قبل از
سطوع نیر خلافت شهنشاهي -

Previous to the rising of the sun of kingship and the emergence of the light of the star of Shahinshāh's khalifate . . .

It appears in poetry also :

---

1 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 574.

2 Dīwān-i-Bābur Pādishāh, plate xlv.

3 Bābur Nāma, fol. 317a.

[1] دراں رخنۂ از طبائع و سیم
چو راے شہنشاہ ، دین قویم

In that array no rent was frayed by timid souls ;
Firm was it as the Shahinshāh's resolve, strong as the Faith. (Beveridge)

Qalandar.

After his victory at Pānīpat he distributed the enormous wealth gained as booty so liberally among people both in and outside India that he seemed to keep nothing for himself, and was consequently called 'qalandar.'[2] It is originally a title of a particular section among Sūfis known as 'qalandariyah.' Those who belong to this order are called 'qalandars.' In broad sense it signifies a holy man who is unchecked in the exercise of his spiritual powers, and chooses to remain in voluntary poverty.

Sultān and Khāqān.

These two along with 'Zahīruddīn,' 'Pādishāh,' and 'Ghāzī' were stamped on his coins struck at Lahore and Āgra in the years 935 and 936 A.H. The inscription is as follows :

[3] السلطان الاعظم و الخاقان المکرم ظهیرالدین
محمد بابر پادشاه غازي -

The latter like his title of 'Shahinshāh' was also given him in state documents:

[4]مقارن این حالت فرمان حضرت خاقان به پیش
راندن ارابهاء غول بنفاذ رسید -

---

[1] Ibid., fol. 319a.

[2] A. S. Beveridge, Introduction to the History of Humāyūn. p. 6, London. 1902. Also cf. Erskine, Bābur and Humāyūn, Vol I. p. 440 ; and Lane-Poole, Bābur, p. 68.

[3] J. C. Brown, Coins of India. Vol. II, p.1, Oxford, 1920.

[4] Bābur Nāma, fol. 323a.

Simultaneously with this came an order from his Majesty the Khāqān that the carts of the centre should be advanced.

This is his posthumous title. It is a novel Indian invention evidently the outcome of a more refined taste.

Firdaus-makānī.

Ever since after his death he has been remembered by this courteous appellation which in the course of time gained so much popularity that his own name Bābur was practically hushed up by the later Mughal historians and other indigenous writers in their records. It was also imitated by his successors in India and the custom prevailed till last. Even women of this house were given after death similar titles, *e.g.*, Akbar's mother was called '*Maryam-makānī*' (dwelling with Mary). It throws ample light on the taste acquired by the intellectual camp in India.

CHAPTER X

His religion, character, and death.

He was a Sunnī by religion and a follower of Imām Muhammad Abū Hanīfah :

[1] و در علم فقه حنفي مجتهد بود -

And in the Hanafī law and jurisprudence he was a *Mujtahid.*[2]

[3] و کتابي دارد در فقه حنفي مبين نام و شيخ زين شرحي بران نوشته -

And there is a book of his on Hanafī jurisprudence entitled Mubin[4] (Mubayyan) and Shaikh Zain has written a commentary on it.

His own action in issuing coins at Āgra and Lahore dated 935 and 936 A.H., bearing the names of Khulafa-i-Rāshidīn,[5] is a practical proof of his Sunnī orthodoxy.

He died at Āgra in 937 A.H. (1530 A.D.) leaving his kingdom to Humāyūn. The following chronogram was at once composed by his court poets :

[6] تاريخ وفات شاه بابر * در نهصد و سي و هفت بوده

---

1 Farishta, p. 390.

2 A rank attained by a scholar in theology, who by virtue of his competent knowledge is regarded as an authority on the subject and privileged to pass judgments which are accepted as final. Technically it is applied to a Shī'a theologian.

3 Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 343.

4 Transcribed as such by A. S. Beveridge in her translation of Bābur's Turkī Memoirs. The correct transcription is 'Mubayyan.'

5 J. C. Brown, Coins of India, p. 1.

6 Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 341.

The date of the death of Shāh Bābur,
Was in the year 937.

It is noteworthy that people have since shown an ever-increasing tendency for this sort of composition which in Indian atmosphere grew as an art, and was treated as a special branch of Persian poetry. In his last will he had declared the throne for Humāyūn, and calling his principal chiefs had put their hands in Humāyūn's in token of investiture. After death his body was conveyed to Cābul and buried there in a garden high up on a hill outside the city.

He was a man of strenuous energy, resolution and perseverance, and led constantly a hard and restless life. At the same time he was courteous, large-hearted, and full of generosity and fellow-feeling. His taste for literature is determined by his *diwan* and *auto-biography*, which amply demonstrate his ambition to unite in him valour and learning, and achieve a name in both.

Of all his sons he loved Humāyūn most. Once Humāyūn's mother noticing Bābur's overwhelming grief at Humāyūn's illness tried to pacify him by saying that he had other sons also, and should not therefore feel so despondent and gloomy. To this Bābur's reply was the following :

His love for Humāyūn, and his prayer at the latter's sick-bed.

[1] ماهم اگرچه فرزندان دیگر دارم اما هیچ فرزندے
برابر همایون تو دوست نمیدارم از برای آنکه سلطنت
, پادشاهي و دنیای روشن از برای ..... برخوردار
فرزند دلبند همایون میخواهم نه برای دیگران -

Māhim, although I have other sons I love none as I love your Humāyūn. For that reason

[1] Gulbadan Begum, Humāyūn Nāmah, p. 21, ut supra.

> I desire the kingdom and royalty and the bright world for my dear son Humāyūn and not for others.

His illness and death are ascribed to the wilful surrender of his own life to save that of Humāyūn. When Humāyūn was dangerously ill, Bābur out of parental love walked round the sick-bed three times uttering a prayer which is described by Gulbadan Bēgum as follows :

> [1] و در روندهٔ مذکور دعا خواستند که خدایا اگر عوض جان جان مبدل شود من که بابر ام عمر و جان خود را به همایون بخشیدم

> And while going round as has already been said he prayed saying :
> O, God if a life may be exchanged for a life, I, who am Bābur, I give my life and my being for Humāyūn.

He then turned his face to Humāyūn and exclaimed, "On me be all that thou art suffering," and then cried out, " I have prevailed : I have taken it." The strange effect of this prayer was that Bābur fell ill the very day and Humāyūn recovered :

> [2] در همان روز حضرت فردوس مکانی را تشویش شد و همایون پادشاه برسر خود آب ریختند و بیرون آمده بار دادند -

---

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.

That very day Firdaus-makānī felt indisposed, and Humāyūn poured water on his head, and came out and gave audience.

Erskine's tribute to Babur.

"Zahīruddīn Muhammad was undoubtedly one of the illustrious men of his age and one of the most eminent and accomplished Princes that ever adorned an Asiatic throne. We find few Princes entitled to rank higher than Bābur in genius and accomplishments. In his love of letters and his success of them we shall probably find no other Asiatic Prince who can justly be placed beside him."

Death makes no conquest of this conqueror,
For now he lies in fame.

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William Davy, 20.

Y

Yūdhan, 114.
Yūnus Khān, 5-6, 8-9.
Yūsuf Badī'ī, 79.

Z

Zahīruddīn, 4.
Zengīs Khān, 28.
Ziyā'uddin Yūsuf, 111.

حقا که چون همایون در حال وصل بیخود
با دوست در حکایت از خویش رفته بودم

عقل وھوش از من مجوئید اے بتاں
چوں ھمایوں بیھشی اُفتادہ است

A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE GROWTH OF URDU LANGUAGE

[BĀBUR TO AKBAR]

PART II.—HUMĀYŪN

BY

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A

HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

PART II—HUMĀYŪN

CHAPTER I

Humāyūn's accession to the throne.

Congratulatory poems.

After Bābur's death, which took place at Āgra, his eldest son Humāyūn ascended the throne in 937 A. H. The court poets composed congratulatory poems of which the following chronogram was cleverly devised, mourning in one and the same breath for Bābur's death and exulting at Humāyūn's accession to the throne :

[1] شه خسروان شاه بابر که داشت
دو صد بنده مانند جمشید و کے
محمد همایون بجایش نشست
چو طومار عمرش اجل کرده طے
چو پرسند تاریخ اے دل بگو
همایون بود وارث ملك وے

---

[1] Mīrzā 'Alāud daula Qazwīnī, Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir (abridged), B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 27a.

The king of kings Shāh Bābur who had,
Two hundred slaves like Jamshīd and "Kai-khusrau";
Muhammad Humāyūn sat in his place,
When the roll of the latter's life was cut short by death;
If they ask the date, O heart, say,
"Humāyūn is the heir to his kingdom."

Popularity of chronograms: a noteworthy feature of his reign in the history of Persian poetry in India.

The practice of composing chronograms on memorable occasions was rapidly gaining popularity among the writers of the Indian courts. Even poets who had migrated from Persia, Turkistān, and Trans-Caspian Provinces, were taking a fancy for same and introducing subtleties in their compositions with artful devices in the use of words and their meanings.

Another chronogram that was composed and presented to him was the following:

[1] محمد همایون شه نیك بخت
که خیرالملوك است اندر سلوك
چو برمسند پادشاهی نشست
شدش سال تاریخ خیرالملوك ۱

Muhammad Humāyūn, the fortunate King,
Who is the best of kings in their line;
When on the throne of Empire he sat,

---

1 Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 344.

The year of his accession was "*Khair-ul-mulūk*" (the best of kings).

Again, when Humāyūn defeated Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī in a pitched battle at Mandsūr near Mālwa, the following *qit'a* was composed to commemorate the date of this victory :

[1]همایون شاه غازي آنکه اوراست
هزاران بنده چون جمشید در خور
بفیروزي چو آمد سوئے گجرات
مظفر گشت فخر آل تیمور
بهادر چون ذلیل و خوار گردید (تیمر ۱۲)
شده تاریخ آن ذلّ بهادر

Humāyūn is king, Ghāzī, and more,
Thousands of slaves like Jamshīd him serve;
In victory, when he came to Gujarāt,
Triumphed the 'pride of Timūr's race,'
Bahādur, when fell so low and in disgrace,
The date was found in '*zill i Bahādur*'
(Bahādur's disgrace).

Similarly when the fort of Champānēr was subdued by Humāyūn's forces, the following verse was composed by the court poets in attendance :

[2]تاریخ ظفر یافتن شاه همایوں
می جست خرد-یافت نه شهرصفربود

1 Ibid., p. 346.
2 Ibid., p. 347.

The date of Humāyūn's gaining victory,
Wisdom sought and found in '*nuh i Shahr i Safar būd*' (it was the 9th of Safar).

This chronogram is most ingeniously devised since its very words tell the date and the month, while the year is to be found in the numerical value of its letters. Such niceties in the art of composition date from the reign of Humāyūn, and were developed in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān, and Aurangzēb.

His birth and education.

He was born at Cābul of Bābur's first wife, Māham Bēgum, in 913 A. H., which is synchronous with Bābur's adoption of the title of Pādishāh. The date of his birth was found by many poets in their metrical compositions, of which the following is from the pen of Bābur's trusted noble Khwāja Kalān:

[1] سال مولود همایون شاهست
زادك الله تعالی قدرا
برده ام یك الف از تاریخش
تا کشم میل دو چشم بد را

It is the year of the birth of Humāyūn Shāh,
May God increase thy rank and dignity;
I have carried off one '*alif*' from his chronogram,[2]
So that I may apply with it collyrium to the two eyes of the evil.

---

[1] Naqsh 'Alī, Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'ānī (abridged and bound with Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir), B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 151b.

[2] This means that the chronogram is short by 1.

Short phrases also, as was customary with poets on such occasions, were ingeniously constructed giving the date of his birth, to indicate his future greatness and kingly career. Some of these are as follows :

سلطان همایون خان ... [Sultān Humāyūn Khān]
شاه فیروز قدر ... [Shāh Fīrūz Qadr]
پادشاه صف شکن ... [Pādishāh Saf-Shikan]
خوش باد ... [Khush Bād]

In his early youth he was trained under the fostering care of his father's learned secretaries Khwāja Kalān and Shaikh Zainuddīn. His father also paid personal attention to his education and used to correct in his letters mistakes of spelling and diction every now and then.[1]

Waning influence of Turkī at his Court, and his liking for Persian in contrast to his father's.

While quite young he developed a taste for Mathematics and Astronomy in the association of Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī[2], Mullā Nūruddīn,[3] and the celebrated astronomer Maulānā Ilyās.[4] He seemed to have little liking for Turkī, and employed it on few occasions only. The rapidly dwindling influence of Turkī at his court is clearly noticeable. While Bābur had tried all his life to raise the status of Turkī, Humāyūn, in inverse ratio, neglected it from deference to the feelings of the Persians at his court, as well as his own liking for Persian.

---

1 Memoirs of Bābur, Vol. II, p. 624.
2 Bā Yazīd, Tārīkhi Humāyūn, I.O. MSS. No 223, fol. 24b.
3 Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 223.
4 Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 131.

The only instances of his Turkī composition that could be discovered are the following:

(i) A few letters that he wrote to his father.

(ii) Occasional verses that he composed, of which, however, no trace could be found, except of one which is preserved in his name as follows :

[1] من كه بلبل ایك كلي دین كو بمشام اعنگ یله
اوت سالیب تور خاتمه رخساره كلرنك یله

The occasions on which he appreciated Turkī verses were also few :

"After my presentation I offered the Emperor a small gift and a chronogram upon the conquest of India – also two *ghazals*, all of which pleased the Pādishāh greatly."[2]

"About the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādishāh. I immediately wrote a chronogram for the occasion which found much favour. The incident furnished the material for a '*ghazal*' with which the sovereign was so delighted that he called me a second Mīr 'Alī Shīr."[3]

---

[1] Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 40a.

[2] A. Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs, p. 47, London, 1899.

[3] Ibid., pp. 49–50.

Even in his private conversations he used Turkī rarely. On two occasions he spoke it merely with the object that his other courtiers might not understand him. One such occasion was at the blinding of Kāmrān. When 'Alī Dost, a trusted servant of Humāyūn, came to give him certain news about it with a view to take his further instructions in the matter, Humāyūn was surrounded by people, and this was apparently why the servant chose to communicate the object of his visit in Turkī, saying :

Turkī rarely employed in his private conversation.

[1] بوايشيكا هيچ كسى قلميدور

Nobody does this work,

whereupon Humāyūn abusing him said :

[2] ايتي قلتاق سن غانه بولب تورسن قلنك

What is wrong with thee, do it thyself.

The other occasion was when on account of the scarcity of water and the monopoly of the available well by Tardī Bēg, the entire menial staff had conspired against him and made their complaint to Humāyūn. Humāyūn thereupon rode up to Tardī Bēg and spoke to him in Turkī merely to avoid his being understood

---

[1] Jauhar, Tazkirat ul wāqi'āt, B. M. MSS., Add. 16,711 fol. 123b.

[2] Ibid.

by others, thereby to keep the prestige of the Khān in the eyes of those present intact:

[1] چون آب بفراغت نمي رسيد جماعة شاگرد پیشه حضرت پادشاه آمده عرض نمودند که تردی بیگ باسپان وشتران خود آب داد......پادشاه او را مانع شوند إلّا باد جنگ خواهیم کرد غایت کشة خواهیم شد یا آب میگیریم چون حضرت دانستند که قباحت خواهدشد سوارشدند بدولت و برسر چاه آمدند و بزبان ترکي گفتند غلامان خیال خوب ندارند مردم خود را یك ساعت ازآب گرفتن مانع شو -

> Since water was not being had in sufficient quantity the menial staff of His Majesty coming before him gave vent that Tardī Bēg supplied water to his own horses and camels . . ., the King should stop him, otherwise we would fight with him. At the most we might be killed or get water. When His Majesty knew that it would lead to evil, he mounted his horse and rode up to the top of the well, and said in Turkī language, "the servants are discontented. Stop your men drawing water for an hour."

A similar instance occurred when a servant wished to say that a certain Mughal captive had used unworthy language in respect of Humāyūn's person, and should on that account be beheaded:

[1] Ibid., fol. 51b.

[1] یک مغل بدست میرزا قلی چولی افتاد که بر روے أو
زخم محکم بود گرفتة بدر گاه حضرت پادشاه اورد بزبان
ترکی عرض کرد که این شخص آنکس است که بحضرت
پادشاه ناسزا گفتة بود فرمودند که بجزای خود رسیده
است -

A Mughal on whose face there was a deep wound fell into the hands of Mīrzā Qulī Chūlī. Having arrested him he brought him to the court of His Majesty and said in Turkī language that the captive was that person who used unworthy language in respect of the Pādishāh. His Majesty replied that the wretch had received his reward.

One instance of his voluntarily employing Turkī while speaking to a Turk is as follows:

[2] دو شخص رومی در بازار بودند کِه بحضرت پادشاه
سلام کردند حضرت فرمودند که مِن دن دعا ده یعني ازما
بپادشاه روم دعا بده ایشان گفتند که کوز اوچم یعنی
بچشم -

Two persons of Rūm were in the market. They saluted His Majesty. His Majesty replied, '*min dan du'ā dih,*' *i.e.*, from me to the king of Rūm convey greetings. They rejoined, '*kūz ou cham*,' *i.e.*, heartily or with great pleasure.

[1] Ibid., fol. 56a.

[2] Ibid., fol. 82a.

F. 2

CHAPTER II

While for Turkī he seems to have had an aversion, for Persian he had a special liking. He encouraged it at his court and himself employed it on all public and private occasions. He also compiled a 'dīwān'[1] using *Humāyūn* as his pen-name. His best poetry is to be found in his '*ghazal.*'

His taste for Persian poetry.

Some specimens are as follows:

'Ghazal.'

غزل

[2] کار من بامهوشے افتاده است
در درونم آتشے افتاده است
خانه ام روشن شد از روی حبیب
هر توے از مهوشے افتاده است
دل مرا ای جان بهر سومی کشد
تا دلم با دلکشے افتاده است
کام دل خواهم گرفتن این زمان
چون بدستم سر خوشے افتاده است
عقل و هوش از من مجوئید ای بتان
چون همایون بیهشے افتاده است

[1] Abul Fazl testifies to its presence in the royal library : Cf. ودیوان آنحضرت در کتبخانه عالي موجود است (and His Majesty's *dīwān* exists in the royal library). [Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368.]

Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 39a.

With a beautiful maid my lot has fallen,
Within my heart a fire has fallen ;
My house is lit with the face of the loved,
From the beauteous moon (beloved) a ray has fallen ;
In ev'ry way my heart, O life, draws me,
Since my heart to a ravisher of heart has fallen ;
The object of my heart I'll seize now,
While to my hand dizzy delight has fallen ;
Sense and wit in me seek not beloved,
While Humāyūn in ecstasy has fallen.

[1] گذشت از دل سر گشته ناوك ستمش
رسید برمن دل خسته لذت المش
بقصد کشتن عشاق اگر کند میلے
عجب نباشد از اخلاص و شیوهٔ کرمش
کرا است زهرهٔ قرب حریم عزت او
که جبرئیل امیں نیست محرم حرمش
مرا بمحنت او خوشدلي بسے باشد
ز شادي دو جهاں بهتر است درد و غمش
اگر بپرسش عشاق مي نهد قدمے
هزار جان گرامي. فداے هر قدمش

The arrow of his tyranny pierced my bewildered heart,
My wounded heart has tasted the sweetness of the pang of his love ;

---

[1] Ibid.

If for the killing of lovers he shows an inclination,
It is not strange from the demands of his generosity and sincere feeling ;
Who has the courage[1] to go near the shrine of his glory ?
When Gabriel—the trusted—is not the confidant thereunto ;
In his love the joy of my heart grows too great,
Pain and grief for him are better than the joys of earth and heaven ;
If to inquire after lovers he may put a step,
A thousand dignified souls be sacrificed at every step of his.

[2] وصف لعل تو برزبان منست
آتشے درمیان جان منست
هر که باشد بمجلس رندان
بیخود از نعره و فغان منست
انچه در وصف حسن او گویند
جمله در شرم و در بیان منست

---

[1] Literally, 'gall-bladder.'

[2] Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, fol. 39b.

Cf. another similar ode with but slight difference in 'qāfiya':

داغ عشق تو بر جبیں منست   خاتم لعل تو نگین منست
تا نشستم چو خاک بردر تو   پشت بام فلک زمین منست
هرکجا شاه و شهر یارے بود   ایں زماں بندۂ کمین منست
خط مشکیں بصفحۂ گلفام   آیت رحمت مبین منست

[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 460.]

The praise of thy ruby is on my tongue,
A fire is within my soul;
Whoever might happen to be in the assembly
of the abandonnes,
Is beside himself by my cry and lament;
Whatever they say in the praise of his
beauty,
All is contained in my expression and
comment.

[1]خوش آنکه با خیالت عمري نشسته بودم
وز شوق سرو قدت از پاے خسته بودم
عیبم مکن که گفتم زلف ترا پریشان
در شرح جعد زلفت چون دل شکسته بودم
وی سوی من که دیدی پرسیدۀ چه حالست
از چشم تا بناکت بسیار خسته بودم
در شرح غنچۀ او هرگز نگفت حرفے
لب را دران حکایت پیوسته بسته بودم
حقا که چون همایون در حال وصل بیخود
با دوست در حکایت از خویش رفته بودم

Happy the recollection when the greater
part of my life I had sat in thy thought,
And in search of thy cypress-like stature
my feet were sore;

---

[1] Ibid.

Do not find fault with me that I called thy
lock 'disorderly,'
Since in commenting on thy curly lock I
was broken-hearted;
Last night when thou looked at me and
inquired after my condition,
I felt much crushed and dazed by thy
beaming eyes;
In explanation of his bud, my lip did never
utter a word,
I had kept it always shut in that tale;
By God out of wits like Humāyūn in union
with the beloved,
In relating my tale to my friend I had
gone beside myself.

'Ruba'ī.' [1] ای دل مکن اضطراب در پیش رقیب
حال دل خود مگوے با هیچ طبیب
کار یکه ترا به آن جفا کار افتاد
بس قصهٔ مشکلست و بس امر عجیب

O heart, show no restlessness before the rival,
Divulge not to any physician the condition of
thy heart;
Thy work that has fallen with that practiser of
tyranny,
Is a hard tale and a curious affair.

[1] Ibid., fol. 4a.

[1]هستیم ز جان بندۀ اولاد علی
هستیم همیشه شادبا یاد علي
چون سر ولایت از علي ظاهر شد
کردیم همیشه ورد خود یاد علي

We are from our hearts slaves to the sons of 'Alī,
We are ever happy in the memory of 'Alī;
Since the mystic's secret is revealed through 'Alī,
We always recalled the memory of 'Alī.

[2]یارب بکمال لطف خاصم گرداں
واقف بحقایق خواصم گرداں
از عقل جفا کار دل افگار شدم
دیوانۀ خود خوان و خلاصم گرداں

O God with Thy plentiful grace select me for Thy nearness,
Make me acquainted with the secrets of Thy chosen people;

---

[1] Farishta, Vol. I, p. 446.

NOTE.—The word 'یاد' in the last hemistich seems to be a misprint for 'ناد' which is more appropriate and is in accordance with the rules of prosody as saving a needless repetition of the word 'یاد' which occurs twice in the quatrain. But as the first reading is found in some other works also besides Farishta, the same is retained here in the text.

[2] Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 435 (Newal Kishore edition, 1284 A. H.).

Through my tyrannic wisdom my heart was rent,
Call me Thy mad lover, and free me from all cares.

[1] ای دل ز حضور یار فیروزي کن
در خدمت او بصدق دلسوزي کن
هر شب بخیال دوست خرم بنشین
هر روز بوصل یار نوروزی کن

O heart, reap success from the presence of the beloved,
Burn your heart in all sincerity in his service :
Every night sit jubilant in the thought of thy friend,
Every day celebrate a new year's day in union with him.

[2] اے آنکه جفای تو بعالم علم است
روز یکه ستم نه بینم از تو ستم است
هر غم که رسد از ستم چرخ بدل
مارا چو غم عشق تو باشد چه غم است

O thou whose tyranny is well-known all the world over,
The day on which I do not experience severity from thee is severe ;
Whatever grief reaches the heart from the oppression of the sky,

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1 Farishta, Vol. I, p. 446.

2 Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368.

I care not for, so long as I have the grief
of thy love in me.

اے آنکه زیاد تو دلم باشد شاد[1]
بی یاد تو خاطرم دمے شاد مباد
روزیکه ز یاد تو کنم صد فریاد
آیا ز من غمزدهات آید یاد

O thou from whose memory my heart
gains joy,
Without thy memory my soul no joy can know;
The day that in thy memory a hundred
cries I raise,
Come to thee of me, the grief-stricken,
remembrance ?

Once in his appeal to Kāmrān for peace, he subscribed the following verses purporting that for every drop of blood spilt, Kāmrān would be answerable before God on the day of judgment:

بود خوں آں قوم در گردنت[2]
بود دست آں جمع در دامنت
هماں به که بر صلح راے آوری
طریق مروت بجاے آوری

[1] Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 40a.

[2] Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 278.

Cf. Kāmrān's blunt reply to Humāyūn's generous appeal:

عروس ملک کسی در کنار گیرد تنگ که بوسه بر لب شمشیر آبدار دهد

He alone holds fast the bride of kingdom,
Who kisses the lip of the sharp sword.
[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 351.]

The blood of that people hangs on thy neck,
The hand of that band is on thy skirt ;
Better is that thou decidest on peace,
And showeth the manner of kindliness and generosity.

'Masnawī.'

An instance of his composing *masnawī* is to be found in one of his letters which he addressed to Bairām Khān on the occasion of the conquest of Qandhār :

[1] باز فتحے ز غیب روی نمود   که دل دوستاں ازو بکشود
شکر لله که باز شادانیم   بر رخ یار و دوست خندانیم
دشمناں را بکام دل دیدیم   میوهٔ باغ فتح را چیدیم
روز نوروز بیرم است امروز   دل احباب بے غم است امروز
شاد بادا همیشه خاطر یار   غم نگردد بگرد یار و دیار
همه اسباب عیش آماده است   دل بفکر وصالت افتاده است
که جمال حبیب کے بینم   گل ز باغ وصال کے چینم
گوش خرم شود ز گفتارت   دیده روشن شود ز دیدارت
در حریم حضور شاه بهم   بنشینیم خرم و بے غم
بعد ازاں فکر کار هند کنیم   عزم تسخیر ملک سند کنیم
هر در بستهٔ کشاده شود   هرچه خواهیم ازان زیاده شود
انچه خواهیم از زماں و زمیں   گوید آمین جبرئیل امین
یا الهي میسرم گرداں   دو جهاں را مسخرم گرداں

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[1] Ibid.

Again a victory showed its face from
Invisibility,
That the hearts of friends cheered to see it;
Thanks be to God that we are again happy,
And we smile on the faces of companions and
friends;
We saw our enemies with the object of their
heart achieved,
We plucked the fruit of the garden of victory;
To-day is the Bairām's New Year's day;
The heart of friends is without a grief to-day;
The heart of the dear one be ever happy,
Grief may not go near to his heart, nor to
his native town;
All the requisite material for comfort is ready,
My heart is anxious for union with thee;
When would it be that I see the beauty of
the loved one,
When would I pluck the flower of the garden
of union with him;
When should my ear become happy in
listening to thy speech,
And my eye lighted through seeing thy face;
In the sanctuary of thy presence happy
together,
We sit cheerful and without a grief;
After this we turn our care to the affairs of
India,
Resolved to subdue the kingdom of Sindh;
Every door that is shut will be opened,
Whate'er we wished, more than that shall
we gain;

And to what we desire from 'time' and
'earth,'
The trusty (amīn) Gabriel will say '*amen*';
O God, make it our lot,
Both the worlds be subdued to us.

He had also subscribed as a post-script the following quatrain of his ready composition on the margin:

ای آنکه انیس خاطر محزونی[1]
چون طبع لطیف خویشتن موزونی
بی یاد تو نیستم زمانی هرگز
آیا تو بیاد من محزون چونی

O thou, who art the consoler of the grieved
heart,
Like thine own pure disposition thou art well-
balanced;
Without thy recollection I am not for a
moment,
How art thee in the recollection of a grieved
one like me?

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[1] Ibid. Cf. Bairām Khān's reply:

ای آنکه بذات سایهٔ بیچونی   از هرچه ترا وصف کنم افزونی
چون میدانی که بیتو چون میگذرد   چون میپرسی که در فراقم چونی

O thou, who art in person the shadow of the Incomparable,
Thou art more than whatever I praise thee with;
Since thou knowest how I pass my time without thee,
Why dost thou ask how I fare in thy separation?

His appreciation of Persian poets.

"One day the emperor planned a little excursion on horse-back to visit the graves of the holy Sheikhs of Lahore, and I accompanied him. We visited the graves of Shāh Qutbeddīn the Pīr of Delhi, of Sheikh Nizām Welī, Sheikh Ferīd Shekr-Ghendj, Mīr Khosru Dehlevī and Mīr Husein Dehlevī. When the conversation turned upon the poetical works of Mīr Khosru, I quoted some of his best poems, and under their influence I conceived a most telling distich. I turned to the emperor saying, 'It would be presumption on my part to measure my powers against those of Mīr Khosru, but he has inspired me, and I would fain recite my couplet before your Majesty.' 'Let us hear it,' said Humāyūn, and I recited the following:

[1] هرکه قانع شد بیك نان پاره مرد مهترست
کار او از جملهٔ شاهان عالم بهترست

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[1] Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs-Mir'āt ul Mamālik, p. 35, Iqdām Press, Stambūl, 1313 A. H.
Cf. Khusrau's original verses:

کوس شه خالی و بانگ غلغلش درد سر است
هر که قانع شد بخشک و تر شه بحر و بر است
مرد پنهان در گلیمی پادشاه عالم است
تیغ خفته در نیامی پاسبان کشور است

Truly great is he who became contented with
his daily bread,
Better is his affair than all the kings of the
earth.
'By God,' cried the monarch, 'this is truly sublime.'[1] "

On one occasion Humāyūn quoted Nizāmī in a letter to Prince Akbar, reprimanding him for his playing truant:

[2]غافل منشین نه وقت بازیست
وقت هنر است و کار سازیست

Don't sit idly, 'Tis not the time for play,
'Tis time for acquiring skill and doing work.

He had also inscribed in his own handwriting the following verse of Shaikh Āzarī on a niche of the arch of his palace:

[3]شنیده ام که برین طارم زر اندود است
خطے که عاقبت کار جمله محمود است

I have heard that on this golden vault there is,
An inscription which is the end of the work
of all Mahmūds.

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[1] A. Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs, p. 54.
[2] Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 316.
[3] Ibid., p. 363.

From his own verses which include almost all principal kinds of poetry except '*qasīda*' and, *qit'a*,[1] his position as a poet of the Persian language is clearly established. In his '*ruba'ī*' and '*ghazal*' while behind no one, he stands ahead of many of his contemporaries. The chief feature of his style is the clearness of expression which pervades all his writings, and his words are always few, simple, and compact.

Estimate of his poetic taste: (finer) than that of an average poet.

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[1] One instance of same as found in some Persian works like the Ātashkada, p. 39 (edited by Bland, London, 1844), and the Majma'ul, Fusahā, p. 62, is as follows. This he is said to have written to Shāh Tahmāsp after his arrival in Persia:

خسروا عمریست تا عنقای عالی همتم
قلهٔ قاف قناعت را نشیمن کرده است
روزگاری سفلهٔ گندم نمای جو فروش
طوطی طبع مرا قانع به ارزن کرده است
دشمنم شیر است و عمری پشت بر من کرده بود
حالیا از روی خصمی روی بر من کرده است
دارم اکنون التماس از شه که تا با من کند
انچه با سلمان علی در دشت ارژن کرده است

It may be noted that the last line with but slight variation occurs in Salmān Sāwajī's '*qit'a*' as follows:

از خدا اُمید دارم شاه با ما آن کند
انچه با سلمان علی در دشت ارژن کرده است

Also, he is said to have sent to the Shāh a '*rubā'ī*' of which only one line could be traced as under:

شاهان همه سایهٔ هما می خواهند بنگر که هما آمده در سایهٔ تو

To this the Shāh's reply was the following:

همای اوج سعادت بدام ما افتد اگر ترا گذری در مقام ما افتد

His poetic insight: corrects Hairatī and Jāhī.[1]

Once during his flight to Persia, Mullā Hairatī, a poet of Trans-Caspian Province, presented him with a '*ghazal*' of which the opening lines ran thus :

[2]گه دل از عشق بتان گه جگرم میسوزد
عشق هر لحظه بداغ دگرم میسوزد
همچو پروانه به شمعے سروکار است مرا
که اگر پیش روم بال و پرم میسوزد

Sometimes the heart burns with the love of the beautiful, sometimes the liver,
Love every second burns me with a fresh scar ;
Like the moth I have my affair with a candle lamp,
That if I go further, my wing and feather burn.

Humāyūn improving on the last hemistich put it as follows :

میروم پیش اگر بال و پرم میسوزد

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[1] Both were notable poets of Persian language and received favours from Humāyūn. The latter having entered into his service at Cābul accompanied him to India, and remained here till his death which occurred in 956 A. H. For a fuller account of his life and verses refer Badāūnī, Vol. I, pp. 477—480.

[2] Bā Yazīd, Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I. O. MSS. No. 223, fol. 12b.

On another occasion he improved on Jāhī Yatmiyān of Bukhārā, who had entered his service at Cabul. The former had composed a satire on Muhammad Khān Shāpūr and was asked by Humāyūn to read it before the assembly in which Muhammad Khān also was present. When the poet recited the following verses:

[1]شاعرِ شاه همایونم , خاکِ در گه
میزند کوکبهٔ شاعریم طعنه به مه
وای آنکس که بخیلِ شعرا بستیزد
هر که باما بستیزد ببلا بستیزد

I am the poet of the King Humāyūn, and am the dust of his court,
The star of the banner of my poetry taunts the moon;
Alas for him who picks a quarrel with the band of poets,
Whoever quarrels with us quarrels with calamity.

Humāyūn at once remarked:

[2]چرا همچنین نمیگوئی "هر که باما بستیزد بخدا بستیزد"

Why dost thou not say so, "whoever quarrels with us quarrels with God"?

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 477.
[2] Ibid.

He has been often referred to by Jauhar and Mīrzā 'Alā'uddaula Qazwīnī as reading the Qur'ān and also quoting from memory several verses from same on various occasions. Once on gaining victory over the Afghāns he recited the verse :

His knowledge of Arabic.

اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِی اَحْیَانَا[1]

Praise be to Him Who brought us to life.

On another occasion he quoted from the *Traditions* as follows :

مَنْ حَفَرَ بِیْرًا لِاَخِیْهِ فَقَدْ وَقَعَ فِیْهِ[2]

He who dug a pit for his brother, verily himself fell into it.

Some more instances are to be found in the works of contemporary authors like Bā-Yazīd and Jauhar. They show to a certain extent his knowledge in Arabic as well as his taste for religious literature.

From his very childhood he evinced a taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy, and took regular lessons on these branches of Science from Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī, and Maulānā Ilyās :

His taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy.

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[1] Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 37a.

[2] Jauhar, Tazkirat ul Wāqi'āt, B.M. MSS., Add. 16, 711. fol. 78b.

[1] و در هم امسال فرمان عالیشان باسم شیخ ابوالقاسم استرابادی که علم ریاضي را خوب میدانست صادر شده بود...... و حضرت تعظیم شیخ ابوالقاسم (بسیار می کردند) بجهة اینکه قرار داده بودند که شاگرد او شوند و سبق بخوانند و آخر بموجب قرار داد عمل فرمودند و حکیم مشارٌ الیه در سلك سپاهیان در آمده در هند بجاگیر خوب سرفراز گشت -

> And in this very year the royal mandate in the name of Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī who knew the science of Mathematics well, had been issued. And His Majesty had resolved to become his pupil and take lessons from him, and at last His Majesty according to his resolution, acted. And the abovenamed scientist, having entered into His Majesty's service in the link of soldiers, was installed in a good '*jāgīr*' in India.

Abul Fazl and Farishta write thus :

[2] در اقسام علوم ریاضي انحضرت را پایه بلند بود و همواره به ارباب حکمت صحبت میداشتند و ممتازان علم ریاضي در پایه سریر والا کامیاب سعادت بودند

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[1] Bā Yazīd, Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I. O. MSS., 223, fol. 24b

[2] Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368.

And in the branches of Mathematics His Majesty ranked high and he always associated with scientists and those distinguished in Mathematics had the boon of attending at the foot of the sublime throne.

[1] و در علم ریاضی عَلَم مهارت می افراشت مدار صحبتش با علما و فضلا بود و همه وقت در مجلس او مسایل علمی مذکور میشد -

And in the science of Mathematics he lifted up the banner of skill. His social intercourse was based with the learned and the accomplished ; and at all times in his assembly scientific problems were discussed.

In history he appears to have been conversant with the Muslim periods of different countries specially India, Central Asia, and Arabia. Once he related a historical anecdote of Mahmūd of Ghaznī's army to serve as a lesson to his own men purporting that honesty is the key to success.[2]

Also, he transcribed in his own handwriting his father's autobiography '*Wāqi'āt i Bāburī*' from the beginning to the end. This would have

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[1] Farishta, Vol. I, p. 459.

[2] Cf. the statement :

حضرت پادشاه این حکایت بمردم خود اظهار کردند که نیت نیک اینچنین ثمره میدهد چون نیت سلطان صادق بود هم فتح ارزانی شد و هم گنج یافت -

[Jauhar, Tazkirat ul Wāqi'āt, B.M., MSS. Add. 16711, fol. 105b.]

certainly given him an insight into the social and political relations of the contemporary Central Asian States. He also developed a taste for Geography and had globes constructed for his use :

پس کرۀ خاک , آب انتظام , تقسیم ربع مسکون[1]
به اقالیم سبعه , وقوع یافته بود

So the globes of the earth and the water had been set up, and the divisions of the habitable quarter into seven regions accomplished.

His tutors in Astronomy were Mullā Nūruddīn, and Maulānā Ilyās. The keen interest which he took in this branch of science is significant as compared with his father's as well as with that of his successors in India. Bābur and pre-Bābur Mughals, (with the exception of 'Ulūgh Bēg[2]) down to his own time, apparently had little faith or

His tutors in Astronomy, and his interest and activities in this branch of science.

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[1] Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 361.

[2] Son of Shāh Rukh and grandson of Timūr, had been appointed as governor of *Māwarā un Nahr* during his father's lifetime. He was a devoted student of Astronomy, Mathematics, and Philosophy, and a patron of those interested in scientific subjects. During his governorship he got built at Samarqand an Observatory which was called after his name. He also marked the position of stars and recorded his observations in a separate volume known as '*Zīj i-'Ulūgh Beg*' (or 'Ulūgh Beg's Almanac). Daulat Shāh has given a glorious account of 'Ulūgh Bēg's scientific

knowledge in things astrological. He got built a '*Khargāh*' (a tent) which was divided into twelve halls of audience, each of which was named after one of the twelve constellations of stars. The furniture and paintings of these halls, as also the dresses of the servants, bore emblematic symbol of the planets :

[1]واز جملهٔ مخترعات شریفهٔ آنحضرت خرگاهے بود
که بعدد بروج سپهر مشتمل بر دوازده قسمت بوده
هر برجے مشتمل بر پنجرها که انوار کواکب دولت از
نقبهاے آن تابان بود و خرگاهے دیگر مانند فلك الافلاك
جمیع جوانب این خرگاه را احاطه نموده بود -

And of all the inventions of His Majesty was a tent which was divided, according to the number of the zodiacs of the sky, into twelve divisions. Every zodiac was divided into cages, from the holes of which the rays of the stars of Fortune shone bright. And another tent like the '*falakul aflāk*' (or the sky of skies) enveloped the sides of this tent.

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activities and his great achievements in the theoretical and applied Astronomy. According to him there has appeared no monarch like 'Ulūgh Bēg, in the whole history of Islām. [*vide* Tazkiratush Shu'arā—Edited by Prof. Browne—Account of 'Ulūgh Bēg, pp. 361—6]. For a description of a Calendar based on 'Ulūgh Bēg's system, *vide* Carre de Vaux's article 'Un Calendrier Turque' in Essays presented to Professor E. G. Browne, edited by T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson.

1 Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 361.

Also, he got ready a carpet which had nine astronomical circles marked on it, each of which was named after a particular star, and assigned to his courtiers according to their ranks :

[1]و از مخترعات آنحضرت بساط نشاط بود و آن بساط مستدیر مشتمل بود بر دایره افلاك و کرات عناصر ؛ دائره اول (که منسوب بود بفلك اطلس) سفید رنگ واقع شده بود و دوم کبود و سیوم بمناسبت زحل سیاه و چهارم (که محل برجیس است) صندلی و پنجم (که متعلق به بهرام است) لعلی و ششم (که خانهٔ نیر اعظم است) زرین و هفتم (که منزل ناهید است) سبز روشن و هشتم (که جاے عطارد است) سوسنی ...... و دائره نهم (که منزل قمر است) سفید است و بعد از دایرهٔ قمر کرهٔ نار و هوا بترتیب مرتب گشته......خود به نفس نفیس دایرهٔ زرین را اختیار میفرمودند و آنجا سریر آراے خلافت میشدند و هر طایفه از منسوبات کواکب سبعه سیاره را در دایرهٔ (که با زاے آن وضع کرده شده) بنشستن حکم میفرمودند مثلاً امراے هندي را در دایرهٔ زحل و سادات و علما را در دایرهٔ مشتري......

And of the inventions of his Majesty was a pleasure carpet, and that spherical carpet was divided into the circles of the sky and the globes of the Elements. The first circle

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1 Ibid.

(which was attributed to '*falak i atlas*') was white in colour; and the second was blue; and the third in appropriateness with Saturn was black; and the fourth (which is the resort of Jupiter) was of sandal colour; and the fifth (which is related to Mars) was of ruby colour; and the sixth (which is the abode of the Sun) golden; and the seventh (which is the resting place of Venus) bright green; and the eighth (which is the place of Mercury) is of lily colour; and the ninth circle (which is the halt of the Moon) is white. And after the circle of the moon the spheres of the fire and the air were arranged in order. His Majesty for himself adopted the golden circle, and there seated himself on the throne, and every group of people, from among those assigned to the seven planets, was ordered by his Majesty to sit in a circle (which was constructed just opposite to that planet) for instance, the Indian *'Umarā* were ordered to sit in the circle of Saturn, and the learned in that of Jupiter.

[1] و از شرایف اختراعات آنحضرت پوشیدن لباس هر روز بود موافق رنگی که منسوب بکوکب روز است که مربی اوست چنانچه در روز یکشنبه خلعت زر می پوشیدند که منسوب به نیراعظم است و در روز دوشنبه لباس سبز که منسوب بقمر است و برین قیاس -

[1] Ibid.

And among the excellent inventions of his Majesty was the dress for each day in accordance with the colour attributed to the planet of that day which is its patron, so that on Sunday his Majesty robed himself in yellow which is attributed to the Sun, and on Monday in green which is attributed to the Moon, and so on.

He was also preparing to build an observatory for which necessary apparatus and the site had been provided, but owing to his sudden death, the same could not be accomplished:

Materials ready for an observatory.

[1] و آنحضرت را ارادهٔ بستن رصد مصمم بود و بسیارے از آلات رصدي ترتيب داده بودند و چند محل رصد خیال فرموده بودند -

And his Majesty was firmly resolved to build an observatory and had set up in order many of the instruments for same and had fixed in his mind a few sites as well.

All this taste he acquired in Indian atmosphere evidently under the influence of Hindū astrology which came into contact with Persian astrology for the first time under the patronage of a Mughal emperor. Like the *Pandits* he believed in the efficacy of the stars and their potentiality in producing good or bad results in consequence of which

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[1] Ibid., p. 368.

he had regulated all his actions according to the supposed influence of the twelve zodiacs and the seven planets. His keenness for astronomical researches has been further described as follows by the Turkish Admiral who was himself made to work on same, and permitted to leave India subject only to the work being finished:

Turkish Admiral's evidence.

"The roads are flooded and impassable, remain therefore till the weather improves. Meanwhile calculate Solar and Lunar Eclipses, their degree of Latitude, and their exact date in the Calendar. Assist our astrologers in studying the course of the Sun, and instruct us concerning the points of the Equator. When all this is done and the weather should improve before three months are over, thou shalt go hence". . . All this was said solemnly and decisively, I had no alternative but must submit to my fate. At last I had accomplished the astronomical observations, and about the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādishāh.[1]

[1] A. Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sīdī 'Alī, Re'īs, p. 48. The part played by astrological terms in the development of the more ornate forms of later Persian is perhaps one of its most remarkable features.

CHAPTER III

There were many foreign and Indian poets attached to his court. The following is a selected list of scholars including historians and poets of Persian and Hindī, who received his patronage or actually entered his service in India :

Poets and scholars of his reign.

1. Shaikh Amānullāh Pānipatī
2. Shaikh Gadā'ī Dehlevī
3. Mīr Waisī
4. Shaikh Abdul Wāhid Bilgrāmī
5. Maulānā Jalālī Hindī
6. Maulānā bin i Ashraf al Husainī
7. Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandī
8. Mīr 'Abdul Latīf Qazwīnī
9. Maulānā Ilyās
10. Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī
11. Maulānā Junūbī
12. Shāh Tāhir Dakhanī
13. Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārighī Shīrāzī
14. Yūsuf bin i Muhammad Hirawī
15. Khwāja Ayyūb, son of Khwāja Abul Barakāt
16. Maulānā Muhammad Fāzil Samarqandī
17. Jauhar
18. Bā Yazīd

19. Maulānā Zamīrī Bilgrāmī
20. Khwāja Husain Mervī
21. An unknown poet: author of an epic poem.

A short description of each is given below:

Shaikh Amanullāh Pānipatī.

A learned Sūfī and theologian—resident of Pānīpat—was one of Humāyūn's chief poets, and wrote several *qasāid* in praise of him. His style is comparatively simple and his poetry sweet and full of pathos. Some specimens of his composition are as follows:

[1]مدام از حسرت آن لعل میگون
دلی دارم صراحی وار پرخون
تو چون لیلی مقیم خلوت ناز
منم آوارهٔ عالم چو مجنون
گر از تن جان بصد حسرت بر آید
ز دل مهرت نخواهد رفت بیرون
امانی کامران در بزم عیش است
بعهد خسرو دوران همایون

Always in fond desire for that wine-coloured ruby,
I have a heart like the wine-jug full of blood;
Thou like Lailā resideth in the seclusion of daintiness,

[1] 'Alī Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B.M. MSS. Add. 16, 729, fol. 44b.

I roam the world like Majnūn ;
Though the soul leaves the body with a hundredfold remorse,
From my heart thy love will not depart ;
Amānī is happy in the assembly of pleasure,
In the reign of the king of the world, Humāyūn.

On Mīrzā Hindāl's death, which occurred in a night attack led by Kamrān's troops against Humāyūn's camp which was situated near Surkhāb, Amānī wrote the following chronogram, and presented it to his Majesty :

شاه هندال سرو گلشن ناز[1]
چون ازین بوستان محنت رفت
گفت تاریخ قمري نالان
سروے از بوستان دولت رفت

Shāh Hindāl, the cypress of the garden of daintiness,
When he went away from this garden of toil;
The lamenting dove uttered the date,
'A cypress went away from the royal garden.'

Besides this, he composed other chronograms as well, and was chiefly noted in his day for his skill in same. He has been mentioned in this connection by Bā Yazīd who styles him as *Amānī, Manīja* and quotes one of his most beautiful chronograms which

[1] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 454.

he had composed on the death of Sultān Chaghtā'ī, a young Mughal chief who was a favourite of Humāyūn:

[1] سلطان چغتے بود گل گلشن خوبی
نا گه اجلش سوي جنان راه نمون شد
در موسم گل عزم سفر کرد ازین باغ
دل غنچه صفت در غم او غرقه بخون شد
تاریخ وے از بلبل ماتم زده جستم
در ناله شد و گفت گل از باغ برون شد

Sultān Chaghtā'ī was the flower of the garden of excellence,
All of a sudden Death led him on the way to Paradise;
In the season of flowers he resolved to go from this garden,
The heart like the bud drowned in blood in his grief;
The date of his departure I sought from the grief-stricken nightingale,
It went into lamentation and said, 'a flower went out of the garden.'

Shaikh Gadā'ī Dehlevī.

He was one of the greatest scholars of Humāyūn's reign, and was the son of the famous poet Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh of Sultān Sikandar Lodī's court. He spent much of his early life in acquiring knowledge and in lecturing to students of moral philosophy

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[1] Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I.O. MSS., 223, fol. 22a.

and logic in Gujarāt. In the year of Humāyūn's death, he repaired to the court of Akbar at the invitation of Bairām Khān, and was raised through the latter's special favour to the high rank of '*sadārat.*'[1] This installation of the Shaikh was chiefly due to his past loyal services to Bairām Khān during his stay in Gujarāt where he had gone on a special mission in the reign of Humāyūn. His alliance with Bairām Khān which gave him ample shelter and scope for showing favours to his own followers and disciples by appointing them to responsible posts, led him subsequently to interfere with the politics of the State, and he became a zealous member of a political party against Akbar. Abul Fazl as a loyal supporter of Akbar's interests condemns the Shaikh as a mischief-maker and a rebel.[2] His power and influence came to an end with the fall of Bairām Khān. As a scholar he still remained prominent. So great was the fame of his learning that scholars from Māwarā un Nahr, 'Irāq, and Khurāsān, used to come to India for an

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[1] Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 21.

[2] Cf. the statement:

......باتفاق شرر بختان مثل ولی بیگ ذوالقدر و شیخ گدائی کبنو اندیشهاے تباه بخاطر آورده خیالات خام پختن گرفت و چون باطن نورانی حضرت شاهنشاهی بر خدایع این گروه کافر نعمت آگاهی یافت پیش از آنکه این گروه گمراه بدکردار خیال فاسد خود ظاهر سازند الخ

[Ibid., p. 93.]

interview with him.[1] He is the first notable example in the reign of Humāyūn to combine the knowledge of Arabic and Persian with that of Hindī. In Persian he wrote chiefly '*ghazal*' of which a specimen is given below :

[2]گهی جان منزل غم شد گهی دل
غمت را میبرم منزل بمنزل
مشو غافل ز حال درد مندی
که از حال تو یکدم نیست غافل
دل دیوانه در زلف تو بستم
گرفتارم بآن مشکین سلاسل
بجان دادن اگر آسان شدی کار
نبودی عاشقان را هیچ مشکل
گدائی جان بناکامی بر آمد
نشد کامم ز لعل یار حاصل

Sometimes the soul was the abode of love,
sometimes the heart,
I carry thy love from place to place ;
Be not remiss to the need of one, grief-
stricken,
For he forgets not thee for a moment;

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[1] Cf :

و چند سال مرجع اکابر و افاضل هندوستان و خراسان و ماوراءالنهر
و عراق بوده

[Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 76.]

[2] Ibid.

I tied my infatuated heart to thy curly lock,
I am ensnared in that musky chain;
If by surrendering one's life the task would become easy,
To lovers no difficulty would have remained;
O Gadā'ī, life ended with failure,
My object was not achieved from the ruby lips of the beloved.

He also composed verses in Hindī, and often sang them before his compatriots in Hindī tune.[1] He died in 976 A. H., twelve years after the death of Humāyūn.

Mīr Waisī.

He was one of the grandees of the court of Humāyūn, and is stated, like Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī of Sultān Husain's court, or 'Abdurrahīm *Khān i Khānān* of the reign of Akbar, to be a patron of poets and scholars of his time. He had a fine taste for poetry, and every now and then arranged poetical assemblies in which he personally took part. On one occasion he composed a marvellous ode of which the opening line is as follows:

[2] امیدوار چنانم که شرمساري من
شود به پیش تو عذر گناهگاري من

[1] Cf. the statement:

، طبع نظم داشته ، نقش و صوت هندی مي بست و می گفت

[Ibid.]

[2] Dāghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 479a.

I hope so much that my penitence,
May serve before thee as an excuse for my sin.

One instance of his *qit'a* writing is to be found in the following chronogram which he composed on the death of Mīrzā Kāmrān at Mecca :

[1] شه کامران خسرو نامدار
که در سلطنت سربکیوان رساند
مجاور شد اندر حرم چار سال
بکلي دل از قید عالم رهاند
ز بعد وقوف حج چار مین
باحرام حج جان بجانان فشاند
چو در خواب ویسي در آمد شبی
عنایت نمود و سوی خویش خواند
بگفت ار بپرسندت از فوت ما
بگو - شاه مرحوم در کعبه ماند

The king Kāmrān, the renowned monarch,
Who through rule...raised his head to Saturn;
Became a sojourner in the *harem* for four years,
Freed his heart completely from the prison of this world;
After the realization of the fourth *haj*,
In the *ihrām* of *haj* entrusted his soul to the Beloved;

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1 Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 452.

When one night he appeared in Waisī's dream,
He showed kindness and called him near;
Then said, "if they ask thee about my decease,
Say, the blessed king remained in Ka'ba."

His poetry, as seen from the above, is simple and melodious, and was but slightly affected by the current poetic tendencies at the court.

Like Shaikh Gadā'ī he too was a Hindī-Persian poet, and a scholar of varied accomplishments. On account of constant reading and writing his sight became weak. Badāūnī interviewed him at Qannauj in 977 A.H., when the Shaikh on account of his old age had confined himself to his native place. His chief works are the following:

Shaikh 'Abdul Wāhid Bilgrāmī.

1. A commentary on *Nuzhat ul Arwāh*[1] which Badāūnī praises as authentic.
2. Sanābil—a treatise on the technical terms of Sūfīsm.

In his last days he was much devoted to Sūfīsm, and wrote several works on that subject. He also composed Hindī verses and sang them in Hindī tune. In Persian composition he paid more attention to '*ghazal*' and wrote elegant verses in same. The chief feature of his poetry, as is commonly observed in contemporary writers, is the frequent use of figures of speech with an attempt to create niceties in them. Once he wrote a '*ghazal*' with a flexible turn of phrase

[1] A work on Sūfīsm by a celebrated scholar Fakhrus Sa'ādat, written in the early part of the eighth century A.H. at Herāt.

and fancy in praise of his dear friend named Rāja. The opening line is worth noticing :

ای کردہ خیال تو بہ تخت دل ما جا[1]
ہرگز نبود در دل ما غیر ترا جا

O thou, whose thought has made its seat on the throne of my heart,
Never in my heart is there place for other than thee.

Another beautiful verse quoted by Badāūnī is as follows :

مرو بجنگ چو اول بصلح آمدۂ
دمی بلطف نشیں تا ز خویش برخیزم

Maulānā Jalālī Hindī.

A poet of Humāyūn's court—chiefly known for his lyric poetry and enigma-writing both in Hindī and Persian. Two of his '*ghazals*,' of which the opening lines are as follows, are specially noteworthy as serving to illustrate the tendency of average poets towards introducing original and creative ideas with flexible shifts :

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 66.
[Note the play on the Hindī word Rāja(راجا)and its ingenious fusion into the Persian compound(تراجا)which may equally be read as(توراجا)making it a Persian-Hindī compound with a welcome shift in meaning.

[1] زاهد ز جام بادۀ لعل تو مست شد
روے تو دید عاشق و آتش پرست شد

The devotee got intoxicated from the cup of the wine of thy ruby (lip),
The lover saw thy face and became a fire-worshipper.

[2] وعدۀ وصل تو اے ماه بعید افتاده است
وه که این وعده چه بسیار بعید افتاده است

Thy promise of union, O moon, has fallen on the 'Īd,
Oh, on what a distant date this promise has fallen!

He flourished in India under Bābur and Humāyūn, and was among the literati of their courts. He was a student of natural science in which he seemed to take great interest. His work entitled '*Jawāhir nāma i Humāyūnī*'[3] which he dedicated jointly to the father and the son[4] is a dissertation on the

Muhammad Ibn i Ashraf al Husainī ar Rustamdārī.

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[1] Dāghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 109b.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Or., 1717, B.M. MSS.

[4] Cf. the statement:

چنین گوید محرر این رساله...محمد ابن اشرف الحسینی الرستمداری
... که درین اوقات که اعلی حضرت ابوالغازی ظهیرالدین محمد بابر
پادشاه خلدالله ملکه...تمام ممالک هندوستان را در تحت لواے
عرش آساے خود در آورده...مناسب بود بلکه واجب خیال نمود
که رساله فاخره در باب جواهر مرتب ساخته موشح بالقاب سامی نامی
پادشاه و پادشاهزادگان...... الخ -

(Ibid., foll. 3a—3b.]

use and formation of precious stones and other mineral. It is divided into 22 chapters as follows :

Preface	Foll. 1a—4b	A short discourse on the divisions of natural objects.
Chapter I	,, 4b—11a.	On '*lūlū*' (pearl).
,, II	,, 11a—15b.	On '*ya'qūt*' (saphire)
,, III	,, 15b—19a.	On 'la'l' (ruby)
,, IV	,, 19a–21b	On '*zamurrad*' (emerald) and '*zabarjad*' (topaz)
,, V	,, 21b–22b.	On '*zabarjad*' (topaz)
,, VI	,, 22b—26b.	On '*almās*' (diamond)
,, VII	,, 26b—27b.	On '*ainul hur* (cat's eye)
,, VIII	,, 27b—31b.	On '*fīrūza*' (turquoise)
,, IX	,, 31b—42b.	On '*pā-zahr*' [1]
,, X	,, 42b–43b.	On '*aqīq*' (cornelian)
,, XI	,, 43b—45a.	On 'other' stones of the same family.
,, XII	,, 45a–45b.	On '*Jaza*' (a kind of stone)
,, XIII	,, 45b–48b.	On '*maqnātīs*' (magnet)
,, XIV	,, 48b—49a.	On '*sundbāda*' (a stone used for polishing metal)
,, XV	,, 49a—50a.	On '*dahāna*' (a mineral)
,, XVI	,, 50a—53a.	On '*lājward*' (lapiz lazuli)
,, XVII	,, 53a—55b.	On *busud* wa *marjān* (corals and pearls)
,, XVIII	,, 55b—57b.	On '*yashab*' (jasper)
,, XIX	,, 57b—58b.	On '*billūr*' (crystal)
,, XX	,, 58b—59a.	On '*kān*' (mine)
,, XXI	,, 59a—69a.	On miscellaneous kinds of stones
,, XXII	,, 69a—77b.	On metals

[1] A charmed stone said to be found in the head of serpents and is reputed as an antidote for all kinds of poison.

It was undertaken in the reign of Bābur sometime after his conquest of Hindūstān,[1] and finished under the patronage of Humāyūn and presented to him.

Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandī.

He was a learned scholar of Arabic and Persian. He came to Āgra from Samarqand and was given a place among the elite of the court. Badāūnī's remark about his scholarship is as follows:

[2]مولانا نادري سمرقندي......از نوا در روزگار و فاضل
, جامع کامل بود -

> Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandī was among the rarities of the age, and was a highly learned and accomplished scholar.

As a poet of Persian language he built up a reputation and wrote all kinds of poetry including '*ghazal*' *rubā'ī* and '*qasīda*.' A specimen of each is given below:

Ghazal :

[3]وه چه خرام است قد يار را
بنده شوم آن قد و رفتار را
يار سوے ما به ترحم نديد
داشت مگر جانب اغيار را
سوے خرابات گذر نادري
در سر مي کن سر و دستار را

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[1] *Vide* Supra, p. 45 fn. 2.

[2] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 472.

[3] Ibid.

How charming is the gait and the form of the beloved,
I would become a slave to that form and gait;
The beloved did not look on us with pity,
Perhaps he cherished a regard for the rivals;
Go towards the tavern O Nādirī!
Yield your head and turban to the thought of wine.

His composition was not without subtleties which had been largely introduced in India under the patronage of the Mughal court. The following verse which he composed in praise of one Nizām, with whom he is said to have been in love, is illustrative of the popular taste and the atmospheric tendencies in the art of composition :

[1]من دل شکسته گویم صفت نظام نامی
که نداشت بیوصالش دل ناتوان نظامي

I the broken-hearted utter the praise of the one named Nizām,
For my weak heart did not keep order (*nizām*) without union with him.

[2]سر کویت که عمري بودم آنجا
بعمر خود کجا آسودم آنجا .

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[1] Ibid., p. 472.

[2] Ibid., p. 473.

NOTE.—The second hemistich of the first line may also be translated as 'I swear by my life when did I get rest there'?

بقصد سجده هر جا سر نهادم

تو بودي كعبهٔ مقصودم آنجا

جهاني محرم و من مانده محروم

همه مقبول و من مردودم آنجا

چه پرسي نادري چوني دران كو

گهے ناخوش گهے خوش بودم آنجا

At the top of thy lane where I have lived a lifetime,
When did I get rest in my whole life ?
With the intent of prostration where'er I laid my head,
Thou wast the Ka'ba of my object there;
What dost thou ask, 'O Nādirī, how farest thee in that lane'?
Sometimes unhappy and sometimes happy was I there

Rubā'ī

[1] رنجورم و در دل از تو دارم صد غم

بے لعل لبت حريف در دم همه دم

زين عمر ملولم من مسكين غريب

خواهم شود آرام گهم كوے عدم

Grief-stricken I am, and I possess in my heart a hundred sorrows from thee,
Without the ruby of thy lip I am faced with anguish all the moments;

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[1] Ibid., p. 472.

In this life am melancholy, I, the humble and the indigent,
My place of rest shall be the lane of annihilation.

One of his '*qasā'id*,' in which he delineated on Humāyūn's taste for Mathematics and his prepossessions for science, is as follows. It is as well illustrative of the general style and the standard obtained in the art of '*qasīda*'-writing :

[1] المنة لله که بجمعیت خاطر
با عیش نشستند حریفان معاصر
گلزار تماشا گه خلق است که آنجا
در حضرت گل بلبل غایب شده حاضر
عریان ز خزان بود مگر شاهد بستان
کز خرقه صد پاره گل دوخته ساتر
یکجاست گل و یاسمن و سنبل و ریحان
سلطان بهار آمده باخیل و عساکر
مرغان صفت شاه فلك مرتبه خوانان
بر شاخ درختان چو خطیبان منابر
خاقان معظم شه جم قدر همایون
کش هست قوي دست دل از قدرت قادر
از دانش او دانش اصحاب بصیرت
وزبینش او بینش ارباب بصایر
منهی چو حرام است در احکام شریعت

1 Ibid. p. 473.

اقبالٌ نماید بمراعات اوامر
جمع آمده بهر ظفر لشکر اسلام
آحاد سپاهش ز دلیران عساکر
زیر علم فتح بمیدان سعادت
بادش کرم لم یزلی حافظ و ناصر
ای تا کف جود تو قوام همه اشیا
قایم بدم تیغ تو اعراض و جواهر
در روز ازل بود خداوند جهان را
مقصود وجود تو ازین چنبر دایر
جبریل اگر بار دگر وحی بیارد
در شان تو ظاهر شود آیات ظواهر
هر نکتهٔ حکمت که لب لعل تو فرمود
مشهور جهان شد چو حدیث متواتر
مبني است که شرح کتب فن ریاضي است
تصنیف متین تو ز ایجاد دوایر
کس دانش بسیار ترا چون کند انکار
انکار بدیهی نکند غیر مکابر
احصای کمالات تو کردن نتوانم
کاندر همه فنها شدهٔ کامل و ماهر
با عقل حکیمانه و اقبال تو دارد
نفس ملکی نسبت اجناس مشاهر
جود تو بنوعیست که در ساعت بخشش
نا خواسته داني همه حاجات ضمایر

He died in 966 A. H., and the following chronogram was written by Mir Amānī Kāblī:

[1] وا حسرتا که نادري نکته دان نماند
آن نادري که داد سخن داد درجهان
جستم برسم تعمیه تاریخ فوت او
گفتا خرد که رفت یکے از سخنوران

He was appointed by Humāyūn as tutor to the young prince Akbar at Cābul, after Mullā Pīr Muhammad.[2] On Humāyūn's second entry into Hindūstān he was invited by the latter to come to Āgra, and on his arrival in 963 A.H., just after Humāyūn's death, was received by Akbar with marks of greatest favour and kindness.[3] His father Qāzī Yahyā was well-read in history and enjoyed the fame of a historian in his lifetime. He is said to have known by heart the various Muslim dynasties that ruled in Central Asia, Turkey, and Hindūstān. Hairatī, a poet of Trans-Caspian Province, eulogises his wonderful memory and historical insight in the following complimentary verse :

Mīr 'Abdul Latīf Qazwīnī.

[4] قصهٔ تاریخ ازو باید شنید
کس درین تاریخ مثل او ندید

[1] Ibid., p. 475.

[2] Farishta, Vol. I, p. 466.

[3] Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 19.

[4] Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 97.

The tale of history ought to be heard from him,
None in the present day has seen any one like him.

Mīr 'Abdul Latīf himself, like his father, was deeply interested in history, and it was probably due to his command of the subject that he received his appointment as tutor to the young prince. It is noteworthy that his younger brother Mīr 'Alā'ud-daula Qazwīnī, who was trained and brought up under the fostering care of his elder brother, was equally a fine historian, and wrote the famous work '*Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir*' from which both Badāūnī and Abul Fazl have derived their material for the literary phase of Humāyūn's reign.

Maulānā Ilyās.

He was a student of Mathematics and Astronomy, and was unrivalled in his day for his knowledge in those two branches of science. He acted as tutor to Humāyūn, and taught him lessons on Astronomy. It was due mostly to the training received under him that Humāyūn subsequently developed a considerable taste for that science. Badāūnī tells us that he was proficient in the subject and thoroughly capable of erecting an Observatory.[1] Once when he happened to visit Ardabīl in the latter part of his life, he wrote a letter to Shāh Isma'īl II (whom Shāh Tahmāsp

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[1] Cf. the statement:

مولانا الیاس...که استاد همایون پادشاه ، لیاقت و استعداد رصد بندی داشت الخ

[Ibid., p. 131.]

had in his lifetime imprisoned in the fort of '*Qahqaha*'), saying that from the confluence of stars it transpires that he (Shāh Isma'īl II) would succeed to the throne and that his other opponents would soon be vanquished. In that letter he also directed Shāh Isma'īl to visit him at Ardabīl on his release from the prison so that he might put him under the right stars which would lead to his future glory and uninterrupted retention of power. But the latter, while passing Ardabīl in procession, on being released by his party in consequence of the revolution which followed the death of his arch-rival Haidar Mīrzā, forgot to see the Maulānā, and having gone some distance subsequently recollected the prediction and suddenly turned back and called at the Maulānā's house. The Maulānā locked the door from inside but the Shāh managed to get in by climbing over the wall. Thereupon the Maulānā covered his face and refused to see him saying that the hour appointed was gone and the opportunity lost, since the planets had just moved from their position. The Shāh then was obliged to leave, and though proclaimed king at Qazwīn, yet strange to say that after a year's successful reign, he met his tragic death in a confectioner's house in 985 A.H. It was surmised that he was poisoned at night when under the intoxication of opium, in consequence of the cruelties which he had inflicted on his house and the court.[1]

[1] Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 517, London, 1815.

He was a distinguished scholar and a favourite poet of Humāyūn. As the latter he wrote all kinds of poetry, and compiled a separate *'dīwān'* consisting of *'qasīda,'* *'masnawī,'* and *'ghazal.'* He stands a contrast with his fellow-poets in easiness of style and use of simple and plain language. The sweetness inherent in his poetry is hardly approached by any one of his contemporaries. He composed several *'qasā'id'* and *'qit'āt'* in praise of Humāyūn. The following chronogram which he wrote on the emperor's death is reproduced by Jauhar as one of the finest ever written :

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī.

[1] همایوں پادشاہ آں آفتابي
که فیض شامل او عام افتاد
بنائے دولتش چوں یافت رفعت
اساس عمرش از انجام افتاد

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[1] Tazkirat ul Wāqi 'āt, B M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 144a.
NOTE.—Mīrza 'Alā'uddaula Qazwīnī, author of Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, quotes only three verses of which only one is common. The other two are as follows:

همایوں پادشاہ ملک و معني ندارد کس چو او شاهنشهی یاد
ز بام قصر خود افتاد نا گه ازاں عمر عزیزش رفت برباد

The same is reproduced by Badāūnī, and quoted by Prof. Browne. It is noteworthy that the last line which is the chronogram of Humāyūn's death gives the year 962. But the death actually took place in 963 A H., and the chronogram is therefore short by 1 year.

چو خورشیدے جہانتاب از بلندي
بپایاں در نماز شام افتاد
جہاں تاریك شد در چشم مردم
خلل در کار خاص و عام افتاد
پي تاریخ او کاهي رقم زد
"همایوں پادشاہ از بام افتاد"

Humāyūn, the king, is that sun,
Whose all-embracing bounty fell common to all;
The structure of his power, when it attained its height,
The foundation of his life fell from its base;
Like the world-illuminating sun from its height,
Down below at the time of evening prayer he fell;
The world became dark in the eyes of the people,
On the work of the high and the low confusion fell;
For the date thereof Kāhī wrote,
Humāyūn, the king, from the terrace fell.

Of all the chronograms composed by other poets, this is decidedly the most natural and stands unbeaten in the simplicity of style, accuracy of detail, and beauty of language. Another equally simple and suggestive chronogram which he wrote

on Kāmrān's death, which took place at Mecca, is as follows:

[1] کامران آنکه پادشاهي را
کس نبوده ست همچو او درخورد
شد ز کابل به کعبه و آنجا
جان بحق داد و تن بخاك سپرد
گفت تاريخ او چنين کاهي
پادشاه کامران به کعبه مرد

Kāmrān was such that for the place of king,
There was none so worthy as he;
He went from Cābul to Ka'ba, and there,
Entrusted the soul to the True One, and the body to the earth;
Kāhī wrote the chronogram thus:
'The king Kāmrān died in Ka'ba.'

Abul Fazl calls him Miyān Kālē and counts him among the foremost poets of Akbar's court. Badāūnī, too, though points out his certain faults as a poet, thinks him unrivalled in his day in the essential features of poetry and in the composition of chronograms. He had also associated for some time with Jāmī at Herāt, and acquired there a competent knowledge of the commentary of the Qur'ān and mysticism. In the company of Kāmrān he had gone to Mecca and performed his pilgrimage. For all this Badāūnī thinks him an atheist and finds him guilty

[1] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 452.

of gross religious and moral offences.[1] It is amusing, however, to note that his composed poems were universally popular and sung even in Badāūnī's time in the assemblies of the Sūfīs.[2] The opening lines of some of his odes are as follows. They are unsurpassed in poetic grace and are to be classed among the best productions:

[3]به ناز کشت جهاني بت ستمگر من
هنوز بر سر ناز است ناز پرور من

My relentless love has slain a whole world with his daintiness,
Still he, the cherisher of my temper, is carrying on his amorous playfulness.

[4]نه نرگس است عیان بر سر مزار مرا
سفید شد بر هت چشم انتظار مرا

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[1] NOTE.—Badāūnī's displeasure is probably due to the poet's acceptance of Akbar's heresies, for Abul Fazl calls him a disciple of the emperor, and also hints at his free and unorthodox life. Cf.—

از مشرب فراخي پراگندۀ چند گرد او فراهم بودي و با چندین وارستگي خویش پردۀ آرائي گیتی خداوند خویشتن را از مریدان بر شمردي –
[Ā'in i Akbari, Vol. I, p. 244.]

[2] Cf. the statement:

و این هر دو غزل را صوتی خوب بستۀ که در عالم شهرۀ یافتۀ در مجالس میخوانند و بزم ملوک و اهل سلوک بدان آرایش می یابد –
[Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 452.]

[3] Ibid. Vol. III, p. 174.

NOTE.—Love is often treated by Persian poets as an ideal and then is referred to in masculine terms, in the same way as Cupid is treated in English poetry.

[4] Ibid.

It is not the narcissus that has displayed
itself over my grave,
It is my vigilant eye that has in the long
expectation of thee turned white.

[1] مرغ تا بر فرق مجنون پر زدن انگیز کرد
آتش سوداے لیلی در سر او تیز کرد

The bird since it has started flapping its
wings over Majnūn's head,
It has kindled the fire of his love for Lailā
ever more.

[2] چون ز عکس عارضش آئینه پر گل شود
گر دران آئینه طوطي بنگرد بلبل شود

Since from the reflection of his cheek the
mirror becomes full of flower,
If therefore a parrot look into that mirror,
she would become a nightingale.

[3] ریخت باران بلا برتن غم پرور ما
چه بلاها که نیاورد فلک بر سر ما

The rain of distress poured on my grief-worn
body,
What calamities did the sky not bring down
on my head !

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

The following, which is full of romantic similes and metaphors, is in praise of a handsome Yogi youth:

[1]آتشیں رویت ز خاکستر چو نیلوفر شده
یا نقاب از آتش روے تو خاکستر شده

Thy fiery face has become like a lotus through
the ashes smeared on thy face,
Or the veil through the fire of thy face got
burnt into ashes.

In a long '*qasīda*'[2] he dwelt on Humāyūn's taste for Astronomy and the uses of certain instruments like the 'astrolabe,' and 'compass' etc., which Humāyūn had collected for his contemplated observatory.

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[1] Ibid.

NOTE.—It is still the custom of a Hindū Yogī to go about with his face smeared with dust, or ashes.

It may also be observed that the similes employed here are drawn purely from Indian life and surroundings, and the verse is in every aspect Indian in its conception with the creative genius of a poet playing its part under favourable and encouraging circumstances.

[2] This is the second notable instance to come across after Nādirī's *qasīda* where the genius of a poet took a scientific turn and was spent in describing apparatuses instead of the usual praises of the court. This was done evidently to arrest Humayūn's attention and to commend their poetry to his notice. They knew that to gain his full appreciation of their verses it was necessary to compose them according to the royal taste. This shows the extent of the influence that the individual taste of a Mughal sovereign in India could exercise over the literati of his court, as also his power to direct and mould the popular taste of the country as a whole.

He was a poet of great gifts and composed several pieces extempore in his wonted strain. Once during his illness when Khwāja Mu'azzam Khān, a noble of Khairābād, went, in spite of pain in his foot, to see him, he recited offhand a *'ghazal'* welcoming the Khwāja, to the latter's great astonishment. It ran thus:

[1] ماندی قدم زناز بروے نیاز من
دردے مباد پاے ترا سرو ناز من
هر چند وصف وصل تو کردم شب فراق
کوته نگشت قصهٔ درد دراز من

Thou hast stepped daintily over my needy
face,
May there be no pain to thy foot, O my tender
cypress;
However much I uttered the praises of thy
union on the night of separation,
My lengthy tale of sorrow did not come to a
finish.

He also wrote a *'masnawī'* entitled *'gul afshān'* as a reply to Sa'dī's Būstān, and compiled a *'dīwān'* consisting of *'ghazal,'* *'masnawī,'* *'ruba'i,'* and *'qasīda.'*

Before his coming to India, he had the usual prejudice which is of interest to note in his following composition:

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[1] Ibid., p. 175.

[1] چون سایه همرهیم بهر سو روان شوي
باشد که رفته رفته بما مهربان شوي
اے پیر عشق صحبت یوسف رخي طلب
نبود عجب که همچو زلیخا جوان شوی
کاهي تو بلبل چمن آراے کابلی
زاغ و زغن نهٔ که به هندوستان شوی

Like a shadow we accompany thee wherever
thou shouldst go,
May be that by degrees thou shouldst become
kind to us;
O sage of love, seek the society of one like
Joseph,
It is not strange that like Zulaikhā thou
shouldst become young;
O, Kāhī, thou art the nightingale which
adorns the garden of Cābul,
Thou art not a *crow* and a *kite* to go to
Hindūstān.

Soon after his arrival in India, there was a marked change in his tone which was gradually softened into the praises for the court and its literati.

He ranked among the foremost poets of Badakhshān, and entered Humāyūn's service when the latter conquered that province. In commemoration of this victory he composed the following chronogram and presented it to the emperor :

Maulānā Junūbī.

[1] Ibid., p. 173.

[1] توئي شاه شاهان دوران که شد
همیشه ترا کار فتح و ظفر
گرفتي بدخشان و تاریخ شد
محمد همایون شه بحروبر

Thou art the king of kings of the age,
Thy work ever ended in victory and triumph ;
Thou didst seize Badakhshān, and the date was found in,
" Muhammad Humāyūn is the king of land and sea."

He also wrote several *'qasā'id''* in praise of his master in the metre and style of Nizāmī, and Anwarī. The one quoted by Badāūnī, as being most famous and widely read, runs thus :

[2] شهنشاها رخ تو لاله و نسرین لب تو جان
همین بینم لب تو غنچهٔ رنگین شده خندان
نمی گویم خط تو سبزه و ریحان خد تو گل
شود ظاهر قد تو فتنهٔ دوران دم جولان

O emperor, thy face is tulip and wild rose, and thy lip is life,
I see thy lip a bud of resplendent hue that has just begun to smile ;
I say not the *down* on thy cheek verdure and hyacinth, nor thy cheek a rose,

[1] Ibid., p. 470.
[2] Ibid., p. 469.

Thy form shall prove to be '*the turmoil of the age*' when thou dost move.

The tendency to create subtleties in the use of figures of speech and exhaust skill at the artful devices, which is a striking feature of the later Mughal age, is also visible in his writings. In a '*masnawi*' which he composed in eulogy of his master he made use of all such subtleties to the discomfiture of his contemporaries. From its very first line quoted below, the drift and character of the whole poem can be gauged :

[1]شہنشاہ دین پادشاہ زمان
ز بخت ہمایوں شدہ کامران

[1] Ibid.

Note the artistic use of the word '*humāyūn*' with '*kāmrān*' in their both concrete and adjectival senses. This is a typical example of the usual attempts at the Indian courts to exhaust two or more figures of speech in one phrase. The prominent figures in the above are ایہام and 'مراعات النظیر [Equivocation and Homogeneity.] The great incentive to this sort of production is to be found in the applausive support of the Mughal kings who encouraged its growth in India as a piece of literary skill. But it must not be understood that this hobby was exclusively Indian. It was in fact Persian, but developed in India under more favourable circumstances. Cf. a similar instance of play on the word '*mahmūd*' (name of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī) at the Persian court of Shāh 'Abbās—the Great, from Zulālī's masnawī entitled '*Mahmūd wa Ayāz*' beginning :

بنام آنکہ محمودش ایازاست * غمش بتخانہ ناز و نیازاست

Also cf. the finishing line : الہی عاقبت محمود باشد [B.M. MSS., Or. 350] For further illustrations *vide* supra, p. F. N. 3.

The emperor of religion and the king of the
age,
Became victorious through auspicious fortune.

His other poems including '*rubā'iyāt*' and '*qasā'id*' are to be found in the biographies of Persian poets. Some selections have been given by Badāūnī and Abul Fazl. The following from the latter is reproduced as a clever composition in praise of Akbar, inducing him to bestow on the poet yet another elephant loaded with gold :

[1] تا بفیلان میل دیدم دلستان خویش را
صرف راه فیل کردم نقد جان خویش را
خاك برسر میکنم چون فیل هر جا میرسم
گر نه بینم بر سر خود فیلبان خویش را
شاه فیل افگن جلال الدین محمد اکبر است
آنکه بخشد فیل زرین شاعران خویش را

Since I noticed the attention of my heart-
ravisher towards elephants,
I spent in the path of the elephants the cash
of my life ;
I throw dust over my head like an elephant
wherever I go,

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1 Ā'in i Akbarī Vol. I. p. 244.
The above poem is a very good example of the Persian figure of speech known as حسن طلب, wherein the channels of thought and metaphor are suggested purely from the luxuries of an Indian court.

If I do not find on my head my elephant-driver;
The *elephant-braver* king is that Jalāluddīn Muhammad Akbar,
Who bestows on his poets elephants loaded with gold.

Shāh Tāhir Dakhanī.

He combined the knowledge of Astronomy with Poetry. In the latter he confined his attention chiefly to '*qasīda*'-writing, and followed Nizām i Astrābādī, and Anwarī in general style. He entered Humāyūn's service in the first part of his reign, and presented to him the following '*qasīda*' which he had composed in the metre of Anwarī:

[1]محمل مهر چو آید بشبستان حمل
لاله فانوس بر افروزد و نرگس مشعل
کوه از درد سر بهمن ودی رست کنون
شوید از ناصیه اش ابر بهاری صندل

The litter of the sun when it enters the night-chamber of the *Ram*,
The tulip lights up the candle-lamp, and the narcissus the torch;
The mountain is now relieved of the headache of December and January,

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[1] Badāūnī—Vol. I, p. 483.
Cf. Anwarī's *qasīda*:

جرم خورشید چو از حوت درآید بحمل
اشهب روز کند ادهم شب را ارجل

The spring cloud washes the sandal powder
from off its face.

Some of his '*qasāid*' are most remarkable, and are composed in close imitation of those of the leading Persian poets like Salmān, Zahīr, Anwarī, and Khāqānī. A few, of which the opening lines are quoted below, are specially noteworthy :

[1] در غم آباد جهاں عیش از دل ناشاد رفت
خوبه غم کردیم چندانی که عیش ازیاد رفت

In the grief-inhabited world, life's joy left the
unhappy heart,
So much to grief were we given that life's
joy was forgotten.

[2] ما بجرم عشق بدنامیم و زاهد از ریا
هردو بدنامیم امّا ماکجاؤ او کجا

We are notorious for our guilt of love, and the
devotee for his hypocrisy,
Both are notorious, but see the difference
between him and ourselves.

[3] بیرون میا که شهرۂ ایام میشوی
ما کشته میشویم تو بدنام میشوی

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[1] Ibid., p. 487.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

Don't come out, for thy fame will spread,
We shall be killed and thou wilt be slandered.

[1]هر آنکس که برکام گیتي نهد دل
بنزدیك اهل خرد نیست عاقل

He who fixes his heart on the object of the world,
Is not wise before the men of wisdom.

[2]باز وقتست که برطبق تقاضاے فلك
افگند بر سر ایوان چمن گل توشك

Again 'Tis time, through the sky's demands,
That the rose spread a carpet before the palace-garden's gate.

He is called '*Dakhanī*' because he had devoted himself in his later years entirely to Deccan, and rose to considerable influence and fortune there. He originally belonged to 'Irāq wherefrom he came to Āgra and stayed there for some time in the beginning. Since he was an orthodox Shī'a and a zealous advocate of his religion, he often discussed with the Sunnī court religious questions which eventually led to a friction between himself and his Sunnī associates. He called himself a relation of Shāh Tahmāsp, and might be that he was purposely sent to Humāyūn's court by the Shāh to convert the emperor into a Shī'a. From Āgra he went to his

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid., p. 484.

elder brother Shāh Ja'far in Deccan and took service under Burhān Nizām Shāh I, ruler of Ahmadnagar, who soon raised him to the rank of Deputy (*Vakil*). He is an epoch-making personage and opens a new chapter in the history of the Deccan by introducing the Shī'a faith in that country and converting the Shāh into a zealous Shī'a. Badāūnī relates the incident which led to the conversion of the Shāh as follows :

[1] و نظام شاه بحری را که بیماری مزمن لاعلاج داشت بطفیل فسون خوانی شاه جعفر صحتی روی داد و این معنی را......حمل بر کرامات شاه جعفر نموده باغوای او از مذهب سنت و جماعت که بطریق مهدویه داشت بر آمده مترفض غالی شد

[1] Ibid., p. 483.

NOTE. A doubt is expressed by Professor Browne, in his recent work 'Persian Literature in Modern Times, A.D. 1500—1924.' p. 169, fn. 3, as to the correctness of the epithet '*Bahrī*' with which the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar were known. Cf.—

"I doubt if '*Bahrī*' is a correct reading: it should perhaps be '*Burhān*,' the proper name of the second of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar who reigned, etc."

As to its correctness as a title or surname of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar, there is not the least doubt. The historian Farishtā who, on his arrival in India, had at first settled at Ahmadnagar, due to his father's appointment as tutor to Murtuza Nizām Shāh, says that Nizāmul Mulk I, (whose real name, on his conversion to Islām, had been changed from Malik Nā'ib to Malik Hasan) was for a time called '*Bahar lū*' after the name of his Brahman father

> And to Nizām Shāh Bahrī, who had a chronic and incurable disease, through Shāh Ja'far's recitation of charm, relief appeared. And having attributed this to Shāh Ja'far's supernatural powers, the king, through his instigation, renounced the Sunnī faith which he had on the manner of Mahdiwī sect, and became a zealous bigot.

He died in 952 A.H., and the date was found in the ingenious phrase و او تابع اهل بیت بوده (and he was the follower of the house of 'Alī.) He was an excellent poet, and is the author of several poetical works consisting mostly of '*masnawī* and '*qasā'id* in praise of Humāyūn and Nizām Shāh Bahrī.

Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārighī Shīrāzī.

He came to Āgra from Shīrāz, and took his role as one of Humāyūn's court poets. He had a Sūfistic turn of mind and lived a simple and unostentatious life. Badāūnī testifies to his fame as a poet and his tendency to Sūfism. He possessed a sweet tongue and his poetry

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'*Bahar.*' This appellation was changed by Sultān Muhammad Shāh into '*Bahrī*' with which the dynasty became subsequently known in the Deccan. The Sultān had also entrusted to his care his favourite hawk together with other hunting animals due to the suggestivity of the word 'Bahrī' (a hawk or a falcon). Cf. the statement:

سلطان محمد شاه دراوان طفلي چون لفظ بهرلورا تحريف كرده
ملک حسن بحري ميگفت هرآينه بين‌الخاص والعام به بحري ملقب
گشت.........، بحري خاصه خود را وريا‌سة جميع جانوران شكارى
.... بواسطه مناسبت لفظي حواله ملک حسن بحري نمود –

[Farishta, Vol. II, p. 534.]

was full of pathos and the pang of spiritual love. He wrote chiefly '*ghazal*' on separation from his ideal beloved and in complaint of the latter's inattentions. Some specimens are as follows:

[1] از بس که آں جفا جو آزار مینماید
اندك ترحم او بسیار مینماید

Since great is the torture that that tyrant shows,
A little mercy from him appears as much.

[2] بحمد الله که وار ستم ز عشق مست بد خوي
که مي اُفتاد چون چشم خود از مستي بهر کوي
چو ساغر از براي جرعهٔ لب بر لب هرکس
صراحي وار بهر ساغری مائل بهر سوي

God be praised that I was freed from the love of a quarrelsome drunkard,
Who fell into every street like his own intoxicated eye;
Like a wine-cup for a draught of wine, he put his lip to the lip of every one,
Like a jug of wine, for a cup of wine, he was going in every direction.

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 475.
[2] Ibid.

[1] عمري كه دل بوصل توام بهره مند بود
ننمود آنقدر كه توان گفت چند بود
القصه در فراق بسر شد شمار عمر
سرماية وصال كه داند كه چند بود
اغيار دوش پيش تو بودند و فارغي
از دورها بر آتش حرمان سپند بود

It is long since my heart had the boon of union with thee,
It was so short that it was as if it were not.
In short, the days of life were spent in separation,
The wealth of union who knew how great it was?
The rivals, last night, were before thee, and Fārighī,
From afar was like a rue on the fire of despair.

[2] رشتة جمعيت اے ياران همدم مگسليد
در پريشاني پريشانيست از هم مگسليد

The string of union do not break, O companions of breath,
In scattering there is distress, do not break away from each other.

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[1] Ibid., p. 476.
[2] Ibid.

[1]چو تیر خود کشي از سینه‌ام بگذار پیکان را
مرا دل ده که تا مردانه در راهت دهم جان را

When thou drawest the arrow from my chest,
leave the arrow-head,
Give me heart so that like a brave man I may
give my life in thy path.

He breathed his last in 940A.H., at Āgra, and was buried by the side of his late friend Shaikh Zainuddīn whose death had occurred just a few months before him.[2]

Yūsuf bin i Muhammad Hirwal.

He lived at the Mughal court as personal physician to Bābur and Humāyūn, and also as chief Munshī to the latter. He is the author of several works of diverse utility and nature including poetical, medicinal, and epistolary. In poetry he wrote chiefly '*qasīda*' on subjects connected with public health and hygiene, under the pen-name '*Yūsufī*.' Some of his works are the following:

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[1] Ibid.

[2] This is to be noted that both these poets on their arrival in India were in a very miserable condition. Shaikh Abul Wājid who came from Shīrāz had nothing with him besides one old fur coat on his body, and so did the other. Cf. the statement:

زماني که هر دو بزرگوار متوجه هند بودند از قلاشي مفرط غير از کهنه پوستيني باخود نداشتند

[Ibid., p. 477.] From this extreme poverty they rose to fortune under the Mughal patronage. Shaikh Zainuddīn was appointed as 'Sadr' by Bābur and Abul Wājid occupied a seat among the court poets of Humāyūn.

I. *Riyāz ul Inshā*[1]: a treatise on the properties of simple and compound medicinal herbs and prescriptions, undertaken in 946 A.H., and on finish dedicated to Humāyūn.

II. *Jāmi'ul Fawa'id*[2] : a work on general medicine treating of their uses, benefits, and injuries, with certain guiding rules.

III. *Qāsīda fī hifz i Sihat* : a poem on the main principles of hygiene, dedicated to Bābur in 937 A. H., when he was not keeping good health.

IV. *Badāi'ul Inshā:* a treatise on the art of literary composition, giving proper titles and forms of addresses in accordance with the rank and profession of the addressee. It was written in 940 A. H.,[3] for the benefit of his own son, Rafi'uddīn Husain, as well as other youths in general. It has been lithographed at Lāhore, Delhī, and Lucknow.

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[1] Add. 17955, B.M. MSS., foll. 79b, and 174a.

[2] Add. 23, 560, B.M. MSS. foll. 262a—264b.

NOTE.—This is only an extract from the preceding work.

[3] The date of its composition is obtained by doubling the total of the numerical value of the letters of its title, as hinted by the author in the following verse :

تکرار کنی چونام اورا یکبار * شک نیست که ره بری بسال اتمام

[Thus بدایع الانشا=470, which on being doubled (470×2=940) gives the date of its composition.]

He was the son of the famous scholar and poet of Bābur's time Khwāja Abul Barakāt (still alive and patronised by Humāyūn). The father and the son both were capable poets and wrote all kinds of poetry including *'ghazal'* *'masnawī,'* *'rubā'ī,'* and *'qasīda.'* The father used *'Farūqī'* as his pen-name. The following *'qasīda'* which he wrote after the manner and style of Salmān Sāwajī is one of his worthiest productions:

Khwāja Ayyūb.

[1] تپ غم دارم و درد سر هجران بر سر
آمده جان بلب و نامده جانان بر سر
تا گرفت آتش دل در تن من چون فانوس
دامنم چاک شد و چاک گریبان بر سر

The fever of grief and the headache of
separation have I : ov'r head,
To the lip has come life, and the loved hath
not come : ov'r head ;
Since the fire of the heart caught light in my
body like a candle-lamp,
My skirt was torn, and the rent of the collar
appeared : ov'r head.

He combined with the sober poetic vein a considerable amount of humour and also wrote satires, for which he had a pungent gift, on eminent theologians in a graceful and felicitous style. Some of

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 488.

his verses from a pleasantly humorous poem written as a satire upon the Qāzī of Nishāpūr are reproduced below :

[1] خلاف شرع پیمبر نوشت فقه دگر
که هیچ زان نبود در کتابها مسطور
غسل حرام نوشت و شراب کرد حلال
که این عصارهٔ تاکست و آن قئي زنبور
زني که شکوهٔ شوهر به پیش قاضي برد
که حظ نفس من از وي نمیرسد بظهور
جواب داد که گر او قوي ضعیف شد است
روا بود که در آرد بجاي خود مزدور

Against the law of the Prophet, he wrote another law,
Of which naught is found writ in the early books;
Honey he forbade, and wine he permitted,
Since one was the grape's juice, the other the bee's vomit;
To a woman who 'fore the Qāzī of her husband complained,
That he did not give to her joy complete;
He replied, "If his strength is so weak,
'Tis allowed in his place a coolie to seek,"

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1 Ibid.

Farishta pays him a high tribute of praise and declares that he came to Deccan after Humāyūn's death.[1]

His son Khwāja Ayyūb, in his poetical composition sometimes uses '*Ayyūb*' and sometimes '*Farāqi*' (the pen-name of his father) as his *nom de guerre.* A specimen of his ode is as follows :

[2] اے شاخ گل که همچو سهي قد کشيدهٔ
بر گرد لب خطے ز زمرد کشيدهٔ
قدت برآمده چو الف مد ظله
وز ابروان فراز الف مد کشيدهٔ
بر حرف ديگران زدهٔ قرعهٔ قبول
بر حرف عاشقان قلم رد کشيدهٔ
از دولت وصال فراقي طمع مبر
جور و جفاي يار چو بيحد کشيدهٔ

O branch of the rose, thou art drawn straight
like an erect stature,

---

[1] Cf. the statement :

خواجه ابوالبرکات سمرقندي که آخر درزمان شاه طاهر به دکن
آمده بود در فضيلت و نديمي عديل و نظير نداشت -

[Farishta, Vol. I. p. 356.]

[2] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 489.

Round over thy lip thou hast drawn a line of emerald;
Thy stature has come out like '*alif*,' may its shadow increase,
And from thy eyebrows thou hast drawn a *mad*' over that '*alif*';
Thou hast cast a dice of acceptance on the words of others,
On the words of lovers thou hast drawn the pen of rejection;
O Farāqī, do not despair the boon of his union,
Since thou hast suffered endless tyranny and oppression of the beloved.

Maulānā Muhammad Fāzl.

Maulānā Muhammad bin i 'Alī bin i Muhammad *al* Miskīnī *al* Qāzī *as* Samarqandī, a man of considerable learning remained unnoticed by the Mughal historians, author of a distinguished Persian work entitled '*Jawāhir ul' Ulūm*' (or the pearls of Sciences) not published. It is a voluminous work covering 814 foll. (1,628 pages), of large foolscap size, closely written in neat elegant Arabic character. It is divided into several chapters and subdivisions, and treats of one hundred and twenty different subjects which are discussed under those headings with admirable brevity and simpleness of style. Some discussions are on history, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, logic, philosophy, ethics, and Muslim jurisprudence. The copyist is one Nūr Muhammad's son, 'Abdurrahmān of Lāhore. The date of compilation is contained in its very name

which is inserted both in the Introduction and at the end, and works out into 946 A.H[1]. The work is called 'Humāyūnī' after the name of the emperor, to whom, as it appears from the Preface, this copy was formally presented. The author also incidentally hints at several works of his prior to this one, and says as a reason for writing this book, that from his very boyhood till his mature age, he was busy in acquiring knowledge under the best teachers of the age, and having studied some rare works like '*Nafā'is ul Funūn fī ' Arā'is ul 'Uyūn,*' '*Sittīn ul Āsār,*' and '*Hadā'iq ul Anwār,*' he thought of putting together their contents as well as those of his previous works, in a smaller compilation. The work is therefore a sort of Encyclopedia which is a singular undertaking in that age and stands by itself.

The title page bears the seals of Shāh Jahān, Sulaimān Jāh, Sultān 'Ālam, and Shāh 'Ālam, with several autographs of the librarians and private owners. These, with the inscription of Sulaimān Jāh's seal[2], suggest that the book remained in the

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[1] Cf. the title and its working :

كتيب 20+400+10+2 .... =432
جواهر 3 + 6 +1 + 5+200...... ......=215
العلوم 1 +30 +70+30+6 +40... ..=177
همايوني 5 +40 +1 +10+6 +n 0+10=122

كتيب جواهرالعلوم همايونى Total 946 A.H.

[2] Cf. the inscription in verse :

خوش است مهر كتبخانهٔ سليمان جاه
بهر كتاب مزين چو نقش بسم‌الله

libraries of the kings of Delhī and Oudh. Since the work is of peculiar interest, it would be of some value for a student of literary history to observe the style of its language, and the tone of the author's Preface and his address to the king, together with the subjects discussed, which in those days formed the main basis of learning and considered important from a scholar's standpoint.

The first 3 folios are reproduced from the original as follows :—fol. 1 b.

كتاب جواهرالعلوم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

و تمم بالخير

فاضلترین منظومات جواهر علوم و تصنیفات مصنفات
فاضل ، کاملترین منشورات نوادر رسوم و تالیفات مؤلفان
کامل که چهرهٔ فصاحت شعار نوعروسان نفایس فنون
معقوله و جبههٔ بلاغت دثار زیبایان عرایس عیون منقوله
را بزیور فضیلت و بزینت کرامت مزین و محلي سازند
بدایع حمد و سپاس و صنایع مدح بیقیاس حضرت
پادشاهی است که نظام أمور عالم و انتظام مهام
بني آدم بوجود فایض الجود **پادشاهان همایون** اثر و
شهریاران شریعت پرور منوط و مربوط ساخته و علم
ترویج امور شرع متین و لواء تنسیق مهام دین را باوج
سپهر برین برافراخته **نظم**
زاوج آسمان تامرکز خاك * خدائے نیست غیر از ایزد پاك

و صحایف لطایف صلوات و شرایف وظایف تسلیمات تحفهٔ روضهٔ آن خلاصهٔ مجموعهٔ کاینات و زبدهٔ نسخهٔ موجودات که ینابیع علوم جمیع علما از بحر محیط دانش او قطره ایست و مصابیح معارف جمیع فضلا از مشارق آفتاب معرفتش ذرهٔ **نظم**

مقتدای انبیا سلطان دارالملک دین

سید اولاد آدم رحمة للعالمین

و بر آل و اصحاب و احباب که ارکان دولت و دین و اعیان حضرت **سیدالمرسلین** اند صلي الله علیه و علي آله الی هادین و خلفایهٔ الراشدین و اصحابه اجمعین **اما بعد** چنین گوید. بندهٔ فقیر و ذرهٔ حقیر الراجي من الله الحاکم الابدي محمد فاضل بن علي بن محمد المسکیني القاضي السمرقندي غفرالله ذنوبه و ستر عیوبه که از ایام صبا تا مقام انتها در تحصیل فضایل و کمالات مي بود و از روایح نفایس علماء زمان و فوایح مجالس فضلاء دوران حظي تمام استشمام مي نمود و بعد از فراغ مطالعه نفایس الفنون في عرایس العیون و ستین الاثار و حدایق الانوار و بعضي از فواید شریفهٔ فضلاء فصاحت شعار این عزم جزم گشت که خلاصهٔ الفاظ جواهر آبدار و زبدهٔ مفاخر معاني ابکار آنها را مع نقود فواخر اخبار و خزف ریزهٔ چند بی مقدار که ازین خاکسار سمت اشتهار دارد بقید

خامهٔ نوادر نگار آورده تحفهٔ زیبا **مشتمل بر صد و بیست علم** ترتیب دهد و موضوع هر یك را بزبان فارسي برسبیل اختصار باحسن نظام و انسب ترتیب انتظام نماید بروجهي که مفید خاص و عام و مستحسن جمیع طوایف انام باشد چون روی امید به کرم کریم جاوید کرده و ذریعهٔ افتقار و انکسار بمیان آورده لاجرم از مبداء فیاض علي الاطلاق باوجود عدم استحقاق باتمام آن امر عظیم مشرف شد و بانجام آن شغل جسیم مستسعد گشت و آنرا بجواهر العلوم همایوني موسوم گردانید و عنوانات متنوعهٔ آنرا **بمقدمه و سه مقاله خاتمت سمت انتظام** و صفت اختتام داده وخلعت بے بضاعتش را بطراز مدح حضرت صاحبقران مطرز و ذات منقصت سمانش را بتشریف (fol. 2a) ثناے حضرت سلیماني معزز گردانید که ظاهر خجسته ماثرش مورد آثار فیوضات الهي است و باطن فرخنده میامنش مهبط انوار الهامات نامتناهي - طبع لطیفش عارف معارف جمیع فضایل و کمالات وذهن شریفش واقف مواقف جمیع معقولات و منقولات - همگي همت عالي نهمتش برتقویم قوایم ملت غرا و تشیید دعایم شریعت بیضا مقصود است و تمامي اوقات خجسته ساعتش به مراقبهٔ حال مشایخ بزرگوار و تمشیت مهام سادات عالیمقدار و رعایت علماء اعلام و تقویت امور قضاة اسلام عصور اعني جم جاه سلیمان دستگاه سکندر جناب آسمان

قباب جمشید مقام خورشید جسام فریدون فر گردون مقرّ انجم حشم کواکب خدم مهر مکان سپهر مکین ملایك نشان ارایك نشین صبح سیمای آفتاب رای ستاره درم دریا کرم ناظم مناظم سرافرازی مقوی ارکان ملت حجازی معزالسلطنة

و الخلافة محمد همایون پادشاه الغازی خلد الله تعالی سربر سلطنت علی الفلك الرابع وبسط بساط مملکت الی الاقلیم السابع

امیدواری بکمال کرم کردگاری آنکه مستعدان مجلس اشرف اعلی ارقام این اوراق افادت انجام را بشرف قبول مشرف سازند و سطور این اجزای بلاغت فرجام را منظور نظر اعتبار گردانیده بر زلات مکسور اللسان نیند ازند- **نظم**

خداوندا چو از محضِ عنایت
بالطافی که آنرا نیست غایت
کرم کردی بمن توفیق تالیف
مرا دادی تو استعداد تصنیف
که تصنیف مرا مقبول گردان
بنزد نسخه سنجانِ سخن دان
بروی من درے از فضل بکشا
خطاهاے قلم را عفو فرما

مقدمه منقسم است بسه قسم - قسم اول

دربیان شرف علوم و فضیلت علما - هرچند اثبات این دعوی و تحقیق این معنی احتیاج بحجت وبرهان و حاجت بدلایل و بیان نداره زیرا که جمیع طوایف امم وعموم افراد بني آدم بشرف سعادات علم معترف اند و بعدم تحصیل کمالات متاسف اما تیمناً و تبرکاً بعضي از آنچه در کتب سماوي مذبور است و از احادیث نبوی مشهور و از ارباب نفوس قدسي مذکور گشته علی سبیل الاجمال

مسطور میگردد انچه در قرآن مجید و فرقان حمید مسطور است قال الله تعالی

هَلْ يَسْتَوِي الَّذِينَ يَعْلَمُونَ وَالَّذِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ * چه نفی استوا میان ایشان بواسطهٔ شرف علم و نقصان جهل است وَعَلَّمَكَ مَالَمْ تَكُنْ تَعْلَمْ وَ كَانَ فَضْلُ اللّٰهِ عَلَيْكَ عَظِيماً * حضرت عزت باوجود چندین هزار الطاف و اعطاف که نسبت بحضرت رسالت عنایت فرموده بهیچ چیزے بروي منت ننهاده الابعلم اَطِيعُوا اللّٰهَ وَ اَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَ اُولِي الْاَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ * اکثر مفسران برین اند که مراد از اولی الامر درین مقام عالمانند يَرْفَعُ اللّٰهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُو مِنْكُمْ وَالَّذِينَ اُوتُوالْعِلْمَ دَرَجَاتٍ * چه اول بلند گردانیده درجهٔ مومنان

را و بعد ازاں فرمود که درجات مر اهل علم راست و ازین جا لازم آید که درجات اهل علم از درجات دیگران بیشتر بود و انچه در انجیل مذکور است از مقا تا بن سلیمان منقول است **که حق تعالی فرموده است** که یا عیسی عَظِّمِ العُلَمَاءَ وَاعْرِفْ فَضْلَهُمْ فَاِنِّي فَضَّلْتُهُمْ عَلی جَمِيعِ خَلْقِي اِلا النَبِيِّينَ وَالْمُرْسَلِيْن كَفَضْلِ الشَّمْسِ عَلَى الْكَوَاكِبِ وَكَفَضْلِ الْاٰخِرَةِ عَلَي الدُّنْيَا وَ كَفَضْلِی عَلی كُلِّ شَيٍّ * یعني یا عیسی تعظیم کن تو علما را و بشناس فضیلت ایشاں را بتحقیق که من ترجیح کرده‌ام ایشانرا بر جمیع خلق خود مگر انبیا و پیغمبراں مرسل و فضل ایشاں مثل فضل و شرف آفتابست بر کواکب و مثل فضل و شرف آخرت است بر دنیا و مثل فضل و شرف من است بر تمام مخلوقات—

و انچه در احادیث مذکور است' قال علیه السلام الناس عالم او متعلم و سائر النا س کاالهمج لا خیر فیهم * یعني مراد از انسان یا عالم است یا متعلم و باقي مردمان چوں مگسانند که در ایشان نیکوئي نیست—**و قوله علیه السلام** اقرب الناس من درجة النبوة (fol. 2b) اهل العلم و الجهاد * یعني از مردمان نزدیکتر بدرجهٔ نبوت اهل علم و اهل جهاد اند

وقوله علیه السلام فضل العالم علی العابد کفضلی
علی ادنی کم مَرِیَّةً - عالم بر عابد چون مریة منست بر
ادنای شما — **قوله علیه السلام** یشفع یوم
القیامة ثلثة الانبیاء ثم العلماء ثم الشهداء - یعنی در روز
قیامت خلق راسه طایفه شفاعت کننده باشند انبیا
و علماء وشهدا **وقوله علیه السلام** مَنْ صَلّٰی خَلْفَ
عَالِمٍ مِنَ الْعُلَمَاءِ فَکَاَنَّهُ صَلّٰی خَلْفَ نَبِیٍّ مِنَ الْاَنْبِیَاءِ ❋
یعنی هر که نماز گذارد در عقب عالمی از علما گویا نماز
گذارده است در عقب پیغمبری از پیغمبران **قال علیه السلام**
افضل العلوم مایحتاج الناس الیه ❋ یعنی افضل علوم آن
علم است که احتیاج مردمان بدان بیشتر بود -
در نوادر الفتاوی آورده که پیغامبر فرموده
صلی الله علیه وسلم هر عالمی که بندهٔ مومنی را علم
بیاموزد حق سبحانه و تعالی در روز قیامت هزار قلاده
از نوادر گردن او کند و بفرماید فرشتگان را تا بنویسند
از برای او بعدد هر موئی که برتن او بود ثواب حج
اکبر و هر که یک باب از علم بیاموزد اگرچه یک حدیث
باشد حق تعالی ثواب هفتاد پیغمبران باو ارزانی
دارد و هر که یک باب از علم بشنود چنان باشد که
بندهٔ را که قیمت آن هزار دینار است آزاد کرده باشد

و **در خبر است** هر که در راه طلب علم غبارے
بر قدم او نشیند حق تعالیٰ بدن او را از آتش دوزخ
نگاه دارد **و نیز آمده است** که حق سبحانه و
تعالیٰ کوهے آفریده است بمقدار دنیا و فرداے قیامت
چهل بار در ترازوے نهاده شود کسے که جهت علم
روزي بزانوے ادب پیش عالمے نشسته باشد و نیز
در خبر است که هر که یك روز در طلب علم گذارد
نزدیك حق تعالیٰ بهتر باشد از عبادت هزار ساله و در
نوادر الفتاوی آورده است که هر که یك درم در
طلب علم صرف کند چناں باشد که مقدار کوه
ابو قبیس زر در راه حق تعالیٰ صرف نموده باشد **قسم دوم**
در بیان تعریف و تقسیم جمیع افراد علوم معقوله
و توصیف تمامي انواع فنون منقوله - بداں که علم
بحسب اشتراك لفظي بچند معنی مستعمل است گاهے
بمعني صفتے بود که موجب تمیز گردد و باین معنی
علم از قبیل مقوله کیف باشد , گاهے بمعني مصدري
, بمعني عالمیت آید و بریں تقدیر از قبیل مقوله
مضاف بود , گاهے بمعني حصول صورت چیزے در عقل
آید و بایں اعتبار از مقوله انفعال باشد , گاهے
بمعني اعتقاد جازم مطابق ثابت و گاهے بمعني حکم
بوقوع نسبت و بریں دو تقدیر از مقوله فعل است و
گاهے بر چند تصدیقے اطلاق نمایند از مسایل که

راجع باشند آنها بسوے موضوع واحد چوں علم
فقه و علم طب و علم نحو و امثال آں و ایں را
صناعت نامند و علم بمعني صناعت دو نوع است
حکمت و ادب حکمت آنست که نسبت او بجمیع
ازمنه و جمیع اقوام علی السویه باشد چوں علم
الهی و علم هیئة - و ادب آنست که به بعضے از اقوام و
ازمنه مخصوص باشد چوں علم نحو و صرف که مبني
بر قوانین عربیه است نه بر قوانین اهل فرس و علم
حکمت دو نوع است، حکمت عملي و حکمت نظري - و
حکمت نظري عبارتست از دانستن چیزها چنانچه باید
و حکمت عملي بفعل آوردن چیزهاست چنانچه شاید
بقدر طاقت بشري - حکمت نظري سه قسم است اعلی
و اوسط و اسفل و ایں سه قسم مشتمل بر چهارده علم
است چنانچه هر یك مذکور میشود اول علم اعلی
که موضوع او در خارج و ذهن بغیر ماده است چوں
معرفت اله و عقول و نفوس و وحدت و کثرت و مانند
آں و اصول ایں علم بر دو قسم است معرفت اله و مبادي
مخلوقات از عقول و نفوس و ایں قسم اول را علم
الهي یعني الهیات خوانند و معرفت امور عامه چوں
معرفت وجود و حدوث و قدوم و امثال آں و ایں قسم دوم
را علم فلاسفهٔ اولی نامند دوم علم اوسط یعني
علم ریاضي (fol. 3a, begins on page 89)

که موضوع او در ذهن ماده ندارد و درخارج بی‌ماده نبود
چون‌اشکال و دوایر و اعداد و امثال آن و اصول این علم بر
چهار قسم است هندسه که عبارت است از معرفت مقادیر
واشکال وخط تعلیمی و لواحق آن و علم هیئت که عبارت
است از معرفت اوضاع اجرام علوی یا اجرام سفلی و علم
تالیف که عبارت است از دانستن تالیفات چون تالیف
نغمات وحرکات واین علم را موسیقی خوانند و علم‌تالیف
الفاظ‌مطلق‌از عربی و فارسی که‌مخصوص‌قومی‌وزمانی‌نباشد
سیوم‌علم‌اسفل یعنی علم طبیعی که موضوع او در
خارج و ذهن ماده دارد چون انسان و حیوان ومانند ان
واصول این علم بر هشت قسم است معرفت مبادی
متغیرات چون‌هیولی و صورت وزمان ومکان وسکون‌وحرکت
وامثال آنرا علم‌اسماءطبیعی‌نامند و معرفت اجسام‌بسیطه
ومرکبه و معرفت احکام بسایط علوی وسفلی چون افلاك
و کواکب و عناصر وامثال آنرا علم اسماء عالم گویند که
افتتاح این نسخهٔ شریفه بآنها‌خواهد بود معرفت‌ارکان
و تبدل و استحاله و نظایر آنرا مثل علم کیمیاگری از
تصعید وتکلیس و حل و عقد و عمل اکسیر و مثل آنکه
آب بسته شود و سنگ بگدازد و آب گردد و آتش هوا
شود آنرا علم کون وفساد نامند و معرفت اسباب حوادث
هوائی‌چون‌برق و رعد وصاعقه و هاله وباران و زلزله و امثال
آنرا علم آثار علوی‌خوانند و معرفت مرکبات و کیفیت
ترکیبات جواهر واجساد وکبریت و سیماب و مانند آن را

علم معادن گویند و معرفت اجسام نامیه و قوای آن چون
کیفیت محکمی بیخ ها در زمین و برآمدن قوایم آن
درهوا و درازی و کوتاهی و کجی و راستی شاخهای و صورت
برگها و کیفیات حبوب از نشو و نما و مانند آن را علم
نباتات خوانند و معرفت احوال اجسام متحرکه بحرکت
اراضی ومبادی حرکات وقوای ایشان چون معرفت وحوش
و طیور و کیفیت اعصاب و اوردۀ وشرائین و اختلاف صور
و حیوانات و منافرت طبایع وامزجه ومباینیت اخلاق وافعال
و توابع آنرا علم حیوانات نامند **ومعرفت احوال**
نفس ناطقهٔ انسانی وچگونگی تدبیر و تصرف چون
کیفیت روح و بودن او داخل دربدن یاخارج یا محیط به بدن
یا عین یا عرض یا جوهر یا جسم و امثال آنرا علم نفس
نفوس خوانند **حکمت عملی چهار قسم است**
حکمت خلقی یعنی علم اخلاق که باصلاح
هر شخص تعلق دارد **حکمت منزلی** یعنی علم معاش
حکمت مجلسی یعنی علم مجالس و محاضر و
حکمت بدنی یعنی علم آداب ملوك و این چهار
قسم مشتمل بر چهارده علم است و علم ادب نیز مشتمل
است برچهارده علم و علم مناظره و علم منطق
را نیز داخل ادبیات داشته‌اند چنانچه مذکور
خواهد شد—علم دین دو نوع است، علم احکام

دین و علم حجج متین - علم احکام دین دو نوع
است - علم احکام عملیه و علم احکام اعتقادیه — علم
احکام عملیه یا بظاهر تعلق دارد یا بباطن - علم احکامیه
که تعلق بظاهر دارد علم فقه است و علم احکام عملیه
که تعلق بباطن دارد علم تصوف است و علم احکام
اعتقادیه اگر موافق قوانین شریعت غرا باشد علم کلام
است و علم حجج سه نوع است علم تفسیر و علم حدیث
و علم اصول فقه و اسامي فروع هر يك از علوم ديني
و حکمی و ادبي به تمام در فهرست این نسخهٔ سعادت
انجام مذکور است و مسطور والله اعلم بحقایق الامور
قسم سوم از مقدمه در بیان تعداد ابواب و فهرست
این کتاب. چون از فیض کرم عمیم الهي و فضل نعم جسیم
نامتناهي این بندهٔ ضعیف بتدوین و تالیف این رموز
کنوز علوم و آداب و تصنیف فنون اهل فضل و خطاب
اعني مجموعهٔ کمالات انسانی و نسخهٔ سعادات اهل معانی
مشرف شد عنوانات متنوعهٔ آنرا بر طبق منظومات
مسطوره بشرف نظام خجسته فرجام منتظم گردانید
و مقالات متعدده انرا بر وقف این مرقومات مذکوره
بسعادت اتمام فرخنده انجام رسانید **تعداد قسم
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باب ۳ در علم شعر **باب ۴** در علم قافیه **باب ۵**

در علم عروض **باب ٦** در علم معمّاً و حل معمّيات امير حسين و بيان نغز **باب ٧** در علم بدايع و صنايع شعري و اظهار مضمر **باب ٨** در علم لطايف و مطايبات **باب ٩** در علم امثال , حكايات بر سبيل تشبيه , استعارات **باب ١٠** در علم لغت و بيان واضع آن **باب ١١** در علم صرف **باب ١٢** در علم نحو **باب ١٣** در علم معانى **باب ١٤** در علم بيان **باب ١٥** در علم مغالطات منقوله , معقوله **باب ١٦** در علم عقايد **باب ١٧** در علم معرفت الهيات **باب ١٨** در علم امور عامه **باب ١٩** در علم اعراض **باب ٢٠** در علم حكمت **باب ٢١** در علم منطق **باب ٢٢** در علم مناظره , آداب البحث بنظم

تعداد قسم دوم از مقالهٔ اولى از كتاب جواهرالعلوم

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آن **باب ۲۸** در معرفت طالع موالید و زایچه طالع
باب ۲۹ در معرفت اشکال آقلیدس **باب ۳۰**
در علم متوسطات **باب ۳۱** در علم موسیقي **باب ۳۲**
در علم دم و وهم که حکماء هند دریں علم کتب
معتبره تصنیف نموده اند **باب ۳۳** در علم

شطرنج کبیر و صغیر ، حلیت و حرمت آنها بمذهبین
و بیان ضمایر خاتمه در علامات قیامت و احوال آخرت -
باب اول از قسم اول از مقالهٔ اولی از کتاب
جواهر العلوم - در بیان علم خط مشتمل بر شش
فصل - فصل اول در تعریف خط بدانکه خط
عبارتست از معرفت تصویر کلمات و تحریر ترکیبات از
حروف مفرده و اصول تهجی و کیفیت صنایع و اوصاف آن
باعتبار صنعت کتابت و صفت خطی و این صنعتیست که حروف
تراکیب غرایش مفاتیح کنوز مرادات در جهانی
است........الخ

In the abovequoted preface of the author several points are of special interest, of which the following deserve notice :

1. The work was the greatest and most important literary undertaking in Humāyūn's reign.
2. The author's idea of writing an Encyclopædia in that age, with the object of presenting it to a Mughal emperor in India, and not to any other Eastern monarch of a neighbouring country, is significant, and throws ample light on the literary taste of, and patronage shown by, the Mughal rulers.
3. The then prevailing system of writing chapters and headings in red ink, with

the number of page indicated on the top of each in black ink, is somewhat peculiar, though at the same time very simple (*vide* facs. of fol. 3b).

4. The exceptional command and patience of a copyist to write out such a voluminous work in absolutely one hand and one style from the beginning to the end, with distinctive accuracy, elegance, and neatness, is an important feature of the time, and shows the height of excellence achieved in the art of calligraphy. Also, their mode of crossing and correcting mistakes by enclosing the rejected portion with لا inserted in the beginning, and الی at the end, is indicated in facs. fol. 1b.

5. The subjects discussed in the work, constituted علوم متداوله (current sciences), which were commonly taught in the educational institutions in those days, and formed the main basis of learning.

6. Arabic characters were generally employed in writing books of Persian language, and specially in literary and scientific books. Even the poetical works of standard poets were all written in *naskh* (Arabic characters); while Persian characters (*nasta'liq*) were more commonly used in works of less important character, and light literature such as State documents, foreign correspondence, *firmāns*, and official and private letters.

The reason of composition is given by the author in the following words:

[1] و در همه حالات و جمیع اوقات بخدمات حضور
قیام مینموده پس بخاطر این خطور کرد که تیمناً و
تبرکاً حالات و معاملات را بطریق یادداشت بقدر
فراست خود.....تذکره نماید

> And in all circumstances and at all times he had stayed in the service of his Majesty; so it occurred to his mind that he should record, as a memorandum and a boon and a blessing, the events and anecdotes, according to his own intellectual capacity.

Jauhar.

He entered Humāyūn's service as an ewer-bearer at a very young age, and attended him faithfully during his reverses and flight from Hindūstān. Though not a very learned man, he is the author of a very important work which is of special historical value as being a faithful and unbroken record of Humāyūn's private life during his exile. It was undertaken long after Humāyūn's death in the year 995 A.H.[2]

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[1] Ibid., fol. 2a.

[2] Tazkirat ul Wāqi'āt, B.M. MSS. Add. 16, 711, fol. 2b. A copy of this work (inferior to the B.M. Codex) is also in the I.O. Library.

For a critical estimate of Jauhar see Raverty's article in the J. R. A. S.

A summary of its contents is given below :

I. Humāyūn's fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī, and the conquest of Gujarāt.

II. His contests with Shēr Shāh, and temporary victory and occupation of Bengāl.

III. Subsequent attack by Shēr Shāh and Humāyūn's defeat; his pluck while crossing the river; help given by a water-carrier who was afterwards made to sit on the royal throne at Āgra for half a day (*du sā'at*),[1] in reward for his signal service.

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[1] A "*sā'at*" ساعت should not be understood in the strict sense of an hour. The day was then divided, as it is now, into four '*sā'at*' or '*gharī*' (also known as '*pās*' or '*pahr*.)' Gulbadan Begam calls these divisions by the last name. Cf.—

تا سه پهر شب مجلس بود .....بعد از سه پهر حضرت آسایش فرمودند

[Humāyūn Nāma, p. 37.]

These divisions of time were essentially Indian and had puzzled Bābur greatly. The above statement that the day was divided into four '*sā'at*' is supported by Farishta also, who, in this instance, interprets '*du sa'at*' into half a day. Cf.—

وعدهٔ فرمود که پادشاهي نیمروز را بعد از رسیدن باگرهٔ بتو ارزانی دارم چنانچه همان قسم بعمل آمد

[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 407.]

It may however be noted that Gulbadan Begam differs from both Jauhar and Farishta, and declares that the menial sat on the throne for two days. Cf.—

تا دو روز بآں غلام پادشاهي دادند

[Humāyūn Nāma, p. 44].

'*sā'at*' also means a watch.

IV. Humāyūn's further reverses due to the hostile attitude of his brothers.

V. His flight to Persia; reception by Shāh Tahmāsp; the latter's evil designs against Humāyūn, and their aversion through the timely intervention of Bahrām Mīrzā's sister; help given to Humāyūn by the Shāh; conquest of Cābul; recruitment of soldiers for the attack on Hindūstān; death of Shēr Shāh; Ḥumāyūn's entry into Āgra.

VI. His last days and death by an accidental fall from the staircase of his palace at Delhī.

The style is generally simple and unadorned though at places he has, in conformity with the practice of the times, indulged into rhetorical expressions, probably to make a display of his knowledge, and inserted various quotations from the Qur'ān and the works of Persian poets.

Like Jauhar, he too was in the retinue of Humāyūn during the latter's flight from Hindūstān, and wrote a work entitled '*Tārīkh i Humāyūn*' at the request of Akbar. The author's own version as to this undertaking is as follows:

Bā Yazīd.

[1] چون جم جاه جلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاه

فرمودند از بندهاے درگاه هریك را كه سلیقه تاریخ

[1] Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I. O., MSS., 223, fol. 1b.

باشد نویسند بلکه از ایام سلطنت حضرت جنت آشیانی
همایون پادشاه اگر کسے را در خاطر چیزے مانده
باشد دران درج نمایند و بنام نامي ما تمام سازند و این
پروانه را نواب شیخ المشایخ شیخ ابوالفضل ولد
شیخ مبارك به بایزید بے بضاعت رسانید -

Since Jalāluddīn Muhammad Akbar Pādishāh of Jamshīd's dignity said, "Every one from among the servants of the court who possess an aptitude for history may write it, nay, from the reign of Humāyūn Pādishāh, if any one has any events in his recollection, they (he) may insert them therein (history), and conclude it in my Majesty's name." And this royal mandate was conveyed to humble Bā Yazīd by Nawāb *Shaikh ul Mashā'ikh* Shaikh Abul Fazl, son of Shaikh Mubārak.

The work is almost similar to Jauhar's in diction and style and is full of many interesting incidents of Humāyūn's and Akbar's private lives. It was undertaken at Lāhore in the year 999 A.H., when the author was feeling the infirmity of old age.[1] A most important piece of information contained in the work is the list of scholars and sundry notable officers who accompanied Humāyūn from

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[1] Cf. the statement:

و چون ایام جوانی گذشته و ایام پیری درآمده بود و حافظه را قوت
چندانی نمانده...الخ [Ibid.]

Persia, Cābul, and other territories, on his way back to Hindūstān.[1]

His real name was Shaikh Nizām. He entered Humāyūn's service on his second entry into Hindūstān.

Maulānā Zamīrī Bilgrāmī.

He is said to be an excellent poet of Humāyūn's court, and wrote several '*masnawīs*' and '*qasā'id*' of which some he dedicated to the emperor. He died at an advanced age in 1003 A.H., and the chronogram of his death was found by one Nawāb Mubārak Khān of Delhī in the words' آه آه نظام ' (*āh āh Nizām*). It is a happy coincidence that a poet of the same name also lived at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī, and was reckoned among the leading poets of his day. Besides his numerous '*qasā'id*' in praise of the Shāh, a custom which very curiously prevailed both in India and Persia, and was a common feature of the two courts, he wrote several '*masnawīs*' of which the following were well-known :

(*i*) *Wāmiq wa'azrā.*
(*ii*) *Nāz wa Niyāz.*
(*iii*) *Afsāna i Bahār wa Khizān.*
(*iv*) *Lailā wa Majnūn* (also called "*sar guzasht i Majnūn*").
(*v*) *Jannat ul Akhyār.*
(*vi*) *Sikandar Nāma.*

He also left two '*dīwāns*' entitled '*sahā'if i 'amal*' and '*Iqd i la'ālī,*' consisting mostly of '*qasā'id*' in praise of the Shāh ; and '*ghazal*' and '*rubā'ī*' in

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[1] Ibid., fols. 72b—76a.

praise of his beloved, and on the transitoriness of this world and its vanities. He died in Persia thirty years before his namesake in India.

Khwāja Husain Mervī.

He was a descendant of Shaikh Ruknuddīn 'Alā'uddaula Samnānī, and a pupil of Maulānā 'Isāmuddīn in logic and philosophy, and of the famous Traditionalist Shaikh Ibn i Hajar II, in traditions and theology. As a poet of Persian language he compiled a '*dīwān*,' and is mentioned by Abul Fazl and Badāūnī (both of whom derived their material from *Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir*) as one of the poets of Akbar's reign. Bā Yazīd, however, mentions the Khwāja under Humāyūn, as one of his constant associates.[1] Some specimens of his poetry, which is full of subtleties peculiar to India, are as follows :

[2]اے از مژه بےتو آب رفته
وز دیده خیال و خواب رفته

O thou, without thee, from my eye-lash the water flowed,
And from the eye, the thought and the sleep departed.

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[1] *Vide* the list of scholars who accompanied Humāyūn on his second entry into Hindūstān [Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I.O., MSS., fol.74a]. Also cf. fol. 27b :—

میر عبدالحیٔ و خواجه حسین مروي و خواجه ایوب و ابوالبرکه
این جماعه که اهل نشست بودند...الخ

[2] Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 177.

[1] خودرا بما چنانکه نبودي نمودهٔ
افسوس آنچنانکه نمودي نبودهٔ

Thou hast shown thyself to us in the form
that was not thine,
Alas, the manner in which thou hast shown
thyself thou wast not.

[2] باما گره چو غنچه در ابرو فگندهٔ
با غیر لب چو پستهٔ خندان کشودهٔ

In association with us thou hast cast a knot,
like a bud, in thy eye-brow,
In company with others thou hast opened the
lip like a smiling pistachio.

[3] آنم که ممالك سخن ملك من است
صراف خرد صیر فی سلك من است
دیباچهٔ کن ز دفتر من ورقیست
اسرار دو کون بر سر کلك من است

I am such that the dominion of speech is my
property,
The banker of Wisdom is the tester of my
string of pearls ;
The preface of *Existence* is a leaf from my
book,
The secrets of both the worlds are on the
point of my pen.

He wrote a versified translation of the famous Hindī work '*Sanghūsan Battīsī*' entrusted to his care

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

by Akbar. It remained unfinished when he left India in 980 A.H., for Cābul, where he died soon after. His poetic powers and erudition may well be judged by the fact that Faizī was his pupil and was brought up and trained by him. When the Khwāja took leave for Cābul, Faizī found the date of this event in the words ' دام ظله ' which are used for no less respectable a person than one's father or guardian. One of his marvellous compositions is a '*qasīda*' which he wrote and presented to Akbar on the occasion of Jahāngīr's birth in 977 A.H. It was considered as a masterpiece of surpassing skill ever designed by any one before him. The author himself seemed proud of its production, and challenged his colleagues (in the 13th verse) saying that no one from among the court poets could bring as a present anything better than that. It is so arranged throughout that the first hemistich of every line gives the year of Akbar's accession to the throne, while the second does that of Jahāngīr's birth. This shows the progress made in the art of chronogram so ardently taken up under the Mughal patronage:

[1] للهالحمد از پی جاه و جلال شهریار
گوهر مجد از محیط عدل آمد در کنار

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[1] Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 348.

NOTE.—The same with a high tribute of praise has been produced by Jahāngīr, with slight variants, in his Tuzuk, p. 3, ' Alīgarh, 1864. Cf. his remark:

اما خواجه حسین مروی از قدرت طبع وحدت فهم قصیدهٔ گفته که کارنامه سخنوران توان دانست

طائرے از آشیاں جاه و جود آمد فرود
کوکبے از اوج عز و ناز گردید آشکار
گلبنے اینگونه ننمودند بر دور چمن
لالۀ زینگونه نکشود از میان لاله زار
شاه شد دلها که باز از آسمان عدل و داد
باز دنیا زنده شد کز مهر ایام بهار
آں هلال برج قدر و جود و جاه آمد بروں
واں نهال آرزوے جان شاه آمد ببار
شاه اقلیم وفا سلطان ایوان صفا
شمع جمع بیدلان کام دل امیدوار
عادل کامل محمد اکبر صاحبقران
پادشاه نامدار کام جوے و کامگار
کامل داناے قابل اعدل شاهان بدهر
عادل اعلاے عاقل بیعدیل روزگار
سایۀ لطف اله آں لایق تاج و نگیں
پادشاه دین پناه اں عادل عالم مدار
مجلس ویرا سماه چار مین داں عود سوز
موکب ویرا سماك رامح آمد نیزه دار
نیر برج وجودے گوهر دریاے جود
از هواے اوج دلها شاه باز و جاں شکار
پادشاها سلك لولوے نفیس آورده ام
هدیۀ کان گرامی باز جویاں گوشدار

کس نیارد هدیهٔ زین به اگر دارد کسے
هر که آرد گو بیا چیزے که دارد گو بیار
مصرع اول زوے سال جلوس پادشاه
از دویم مولود نور دیدهٔ عالم برآر
تا بود باقی حساب روزهاے ماه سال
وان حساب از سال و ماه وروز دوران پایدار
شاه ما پاینده باد و باقي آں شهزاده هم
روزهاے بیحساب و سالهاے بیشمار

An unknown poet, author of an epic poem; *Humāyūn Nāma*.

The work is different from Khwāndāmīr's Humāyūn Nāma, already noticed under Bābur. It was not written during Humāyūn's lifetime, but after his death by an unknown poet of his or his successor's court. This is evident from the fact that Humāyūn is nowhere mentioned by name but by his posthumous title '*jannat āshyanī*' while Akbar is mentioned as the ruling monarch. It is written after the style and metre of Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma* commencing with the verse:

[1] شبے خاطرم بود فارغ ز خواب
دل از نور اشراق شد کامیاب

Eight folios in the beginning and many at the end after 65b are missing. The author has attempted to follow Firdausī closely and to identify himself with him in the subject-matter. This is

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[1] Or. 1797, B.M. MSS., fol. 9a.

perhaps the first instance in the literary history of the Mughals in India that the idea of writing an epic poem on the lines of Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma* and to idolise his hero, struck to a poet of Humāyūn's court. It is a valuable historical narrative of Humāyūn's and his predeccssors' battles and conquests which are described in a language sufficiently worthy of the theme. A summary of its contents is as follows:

I. Timūr's successors up to Humāyūn.
II. Bābur's expedition to India, and his victory over Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī at Pānīpat.
III. Bābur's illness. News carried to Humāyūn and his hurrying to Āgra. Bābur's declaration of his successor in Humāyūn, and his death.
IV. Humāyūn's coronation followed by a general feast. Great rejoicing in the country. Rich gifts given, and robes of honour conferred.
V. His battles with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī and Shēr Shāh. The latter's counterattack and Humāyūn's defeat and flight across Sindh. Birth of Akbar at 'Umarkōt.
VI. His activities in Turkistān, Qandhār, and Cābul. His fight with Kāmrān. Defeat and pardon of the latter.
VII. Humāyūn's taste for astrology and his prophecy regarding Akbar's future greatness.

VIII. His second expedition to Hindūstān. His battles with the Afghāns and Sikandar. Humāyūn's victory and accession to the throne.

The author has at places imitated Firdausī so closely in loftiness of expression, beauty of language and daintiness of similes that it is sometimes hard to distinguish which is which. He must be a great poet indeed from among the very best poets of Humāyūn's or Akbar's reign.[1] Some of his lines by way of sample are quoted below from the B. M. codex :—

Lines on Humāyūn's communication and fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī :—

شنیدم ز دانا دلے هوشمند
که عاقل نخواهد بکس ناپسند
خصوصاً باقوام و خویش و تبار
که نقصان ایشاں بود ننگ و عار

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[1] Shiblī on the alleged authority of Badāūnī states that Nazīrī, the famous lyric poet of Akbar's reign, had undertaken to write an epic poem entitled "Shāh Nāma i Humāyūnī," which remained unfinished, at the suggestion of Bairām Khān. [Shi'r-ul-'Ajam, Vol. III, p. 4.]
I was unable to discover the reference in Badāūnī, under both Nazīrī and Bairām Khān. Shiblī has evidently confused Nazīrī, with Manzarī, a less important poet, who, according to Badāūnī had undertaken the task. [*Vide* Vol. III, pp. 340–41] Badāūnī has also quoted one verse as sample which I could not find in the B. M. codex.

همای همایون عزت شعار
نمي خواست عاری بخویش و تبار
فرستاد سوے بهادر پیام
که بادا ترا عیش و عشرت مدام
بفرمان‌روائي شدی سرفراز
بتقویت شاه دهلي طراز
یقین نعمت از شکر افزون شود
ز ناشکري از دست بیرون شود
اگر سر تو پیچی ز فرمان‌بري
تو بینی سرانجام این داوری
من از حسن الطاف کردم پیام
تو داني دگر بعد ازین والسلام
بهادر چو این نامه را کرد گوش
در آمد چو نابخردان در خروش
بگفتا بمنشي نویس این جواب
که آتش فروزد ز دریاے آب
چو فارغ شد از عرض آن عرضه داشت
بنوك زبان تخم ادبار کاشت
بهادر چو بسیار مستي نمود
بنا گفتنیها زبان بر کشود
بفرمان شاه زمین و زمان
جهاني بتادیب او شد روان

بر آمد غریو روا رو بماه
به مند و رسیدند هر دو سپاه
دو دریاے لشکر بقصد مصاف
بتمکین گرو برده از کوه قاف
بده ساقیا باده از جام هوش
که هر کس از و جرعهٔ کرد نوش
شهنشاه انجم به نیلي حصار
در آمد چو از هیبت کارزار
فلك پرده از اطلس شب کشید
پئے مشورت شاه خلوت گزید
سران سپه جمله جمع آمدند
چو پروانها گرد شمع آمدند
که شمعے که خورشید رفعت حباب
به پروانگی یافت از وے خطاب
سپهر سخا شاه دریا نوال
که در وصف او ناطقه ماند لال
سحاب کرم را درر بار کرد
جهاں را پر از در شهوار کرد

Lines on Humāyūn's march from 'Irāq to Qandhār, and the capture of its fortress.

[1]سحرگه که خاقاں خاور سپاه
برآمد ازیں نیلگوں بارگاه

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[1] Or. 1797, B.M. MSS., fol. 25a.

چو انجم ازیں چرخ نیلوفري
نه عسکر بجا ماند و نے عسکری
و لیکن به قلعه در آمد براغ
دل خلق را سوخت مانند داغ
چو قلعه باں ترك سرکش فتاد
خرد گفت در قلعه اتش فتاد
ولے آنچنا آتشے برفروخت
که مانند دشمن دل دوست سوخت
بساں خزینه دفینه تمام
شدي مجلس آراے هر خاص و عام
خزینه خرابات ساں شد خراب
زر سرخ هر سو رواں چوں شراب

CHAPTER IV

The greater part of Humāyūn's reign was unsettled and chequered with misfortunes and exiles. The extent of progress made by Urdū in his reign is hardly ascertainable due to the scantiness of material, but there could be no doubt that the same was progressing steadily in the whole of Upper Hindūstān, including the Punjab and the Gujarāt. The appearance of Hindī-Persian poets in increasing numbers is a good testimony of the gradual hold of Hindī over Persian, and their mutual growth and free play with each other. An evidence of same is to be found in the talk of a parrot which was captured by Humāyūn in his fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī. When Humāyūn led an attack on Mālwa in 942 A.H., Sultān Bahādur, better known as Bahādur Shāh, at the advice of his faithless General Rūmī Khān, unwisely took refuge in the fort outside the city, instead of meeting his enemy face to face in battle. The siege lasted for several weeks till at last Humāyūn's officers, who had secretly won over Rūmī Khān to their side, began to intercept the supplies of food sent to Bahādur Shāh which weakened the position of the besieged a great deal. In addition to this treachery, Rūmī Khān one night caused his men to set fire to the royal magazine, and this was followed by an attack from Humāyūn's troops who eventually entered the fort unmolested. Thus Bahādur Shāh was overcome

Progress of Urdū in Humāyūn's reign.

and fled to Gujarāt for his life. He had a favourite bird—a tūtī which repeated what it heard like a human being. When it was brought to Humāyūn in the open court, Rūmī Khān also was invited by the king to be present. On Rūmī Khān's entering the court, Humāyūn courteously said, "خوش بیائد رومی خان"[1] (welcome Rūmī Khān). The bird hearing his name screamed aloud "پهٹ پاپي رومی خان نمکحرام پهٹ پاپي نمکحرام"[2] (Tut Rūmī Khān, sinner, untrue to salt, tut sinner, untrue to salt). All amazed, and Humāyūn said :—

A parrot uttering an Urdū phrase.

[3]چکنم رومي خان حیف که جانور است سزاوار
عقوبت نیست إلا زبانش از دهانش بر مي کندم-

What can I do Rūmī Khān, alas, it is a bird, otherwise I would have pulled its tongue from its mouth.

The speech of the bird is a curious combination of Hindī, Persian and Arabic words, systematically arranged and put in a sentence.[4] This is perhaps the best example of Urdū that could be traced in the reign of Humāyūn, and serves to show how people were accustomed to talk in their homes and on private occasions. Of the many

[1] Mir'āti Sikandarī MSS., dated 1087 A.H., fol. 107a.

[2] Ibid., fol. 108b.

[3] Ibid.

[4] *Phit* and *Pāpī* are Hindī, and *namak* Persian, compounded with *harām*, Arabic. Also cf. a similar instance of a parrot speaking Persian cited under Bābur. [*Supra*, p. 76.]

poets cited under Humāyūn, Badāūnī has referred to some who composed both in Hindī and Persian. On the same authority we learn that their hybrid composition had found complete favour with the gentry and on several occasions sung before Humāyūn. Thus the already existing relations between Hindī and Persian had drawn closer and more friendly under Humāyūn than under Bābur. Both the Hindūs and the Muslims now appear to have publicly given up their prejudices not only in the cultivation but also in the use of each other's literature. The Muslims though from the very beginning showed no such bias in the acquisition of Hindī language, yet they had not taken to do it so freely as they did now. The Hindūs too in their turn, owing to their unavoidable social and political relations with the Muslims, were doing the same. The Rājpūt Princes and the Hindū Rājās, for holding necessary communications with the Muslim conquerors, kept at their courts a special staff well-equipped to deal with the original Persian documents. In certain cases where the papers were of a confidential nature, the Rājās themselves used to attend to them. Similarly the Muslims behaved and kept a competent staff ready at hand to cope with Hindī correspondence. A good instance of the Rājās' writing to Shēr Shāh fictitious letters in Hindī with their forged replies in Persian, which were purposely

A definite advance made by Urdū, under Hindū-Muslim cultivation of each other's literature.

Faked Hindī letters of Rājās to Shēr Shāh, and their supposed replies in Persian from the latter.

thrown in the way of Rājā Māldeo, as a trap, and picked up and read by the latter personally, is to be found in the following:—

[1] راجها فرصت یافته نزد شیر شاه آمدند و بمشورت شیر شاه کتابات از زبان امراے مالدیو بخط هندوي بشیر شاه نوشتند که ما بنابر ضرورت دریں مدت اطاعت مالدیو میکردیم......هرگاه لشکر ظفر اثر اسلام نزدیك برسد ما از راجه مالدیو جدا شده بموکب عالي ملحق میگردیم و بر وفق همان مکاتیب نیز از زبان شیر شاه نوشتند که انشاءالله تعالي بعد از فتح و مغلوبیت مالدیو شما را معزز و مکرم داشته جمیع اقطاع موروثي آباو اجداد شما را بشما ارزاني میدارم......پس آں کتابات مزور را بلطایف‌الحیل بدست مالدیو انداختند و مالدیو که همیشه از زمینداران و امراے خود اندیشه و دغدغه در خاطر داشت از مطالعه مکاتیب هراسان شده...... و کونهیا و دیگر امراے او هر چند نصیحت کردند سودمند نیفتاد -

The Rājās obtaining opportunity came to Shēr Shāh, and in consultation with him wrote letters to him from the tongue of the *Umarā* of Māldeo in Hindī script, saying, "We through necessity did homage to Māldeo up till now. When the victorious army of Islām will reach near, we, having separated ourselves from Rājā Māldeo, will join your

[1] Farishta, Vol. I, pp. 426-427.

Majesty's forces." And in accordance with these letters they also wrote from the tongue of Shēr Shāh stating "God willing, after our victory and subjection of Māldeo, I will hold you in honour and esteem, and will reinstate you in all your ancestral possessions." Thereafter they made those false letters fall through clever devices into the hands of Māldeo. And Māldeo who always entertained fear and anxiety in his heart against his Zamīndārs and *Umarā* got terrified on perusing those letters and Kūnhaiyā and other nobles, however much they counselled him, it proved of no avail.

Growth of Muslim poets of Hindī language and Hindū writers of Persian prose and poetry.

As a result of this harmony and interalliance, Muslim poets of Hindī language on the one hand, and Hindū writers of Persian on the other, sprang up in ever so large numbers under the patronage of the later Mughal emperors.

During Humāyūn's absence from India the same feature prevailed in the reign of Shēr Shāh, and the number of such poets as composed both in Hindī and Persian kept multiplying. The Muslim interest in Hindī literature under Shēr Shāh is evidently more marked than before, due perhaps to his own predilections for Hindī. The appearance of a renowned poet of Hindī language, Malik Muhammad Jā'isī, who is described under Shēr Shāh marks a new era in the history of Muslim lore in India. It is a notable

departure from the old customary traditions of mixing Hindī with Persian, for his poems were composed in terse Hindī almost to the exclusion of Persian vocabulary.

CHAPTER V

A portion of the period of Humāyūn's rule is covered by Shēr Shāh who held undisputed sway of Hindūstān for five years during Humāyūn's exile. His real name was Farīd, and his title '*Shēr Khān*' which was conferred upon him by Sultān Muhammad, ruler of Behār, due to the extraordinary valour shown by Farīd in killing a tiger. On his defeating Humāyūn and ascending the throne at Delhī, he changed '*Shēr Khān*' into '*Shēr Shāh.*' His grandfather, Ibrāhīm Sūr, had come down to India from Afghānistān in the reign of Sultān Bahlōl Lōdī, and served under him in various capacities. After Ibrāhīm's death, his son Hasan Sūr took service under Jamāl Khān, an influential noble of Sikandar Lōdī's court, and received as '*jāgīr*' the important '*parganās*' of Sahsrām and Khawāspūr which remained for long a bone of contention between Farīd and his brothers.

Shēr Shāh: his name and parentage.

In his early youth he had left his home, through domestic unpleasantness, for Jaunpūr, where he busied himself in the pursuit of knowledge, and acquired a taste for history and literature. He studied Arabic grammar up to 'Kāfiya' and sundry works of Persian poets like Sa'dī and Nizāmī:

His literary attainment and patronage of letters.

[1] فريد بتقريب نامهرباني پدر و خصومت برادران جدا شده ترك نوكري جمال خان نموده چندگاه در جونپور به تحصيل علوم و كسب كمالات ميگزرانيد تا آنكه كتاب كافيه را باحواشي و ديگر مختصرات خواند و از كتب سواد گلستان و بوستان و سكندرنامه و غيرآن نيز استحضار گرفت وپيرامون خوانق و مدارس گشته در صحبت علما و مشايخ كبار آن ديار به تهذيب اخلاق مشغول شد -

Farīd due to the unkindness of his father and the enmity of his brothers, having separated from them, and resigned his service under Jamāl Khān, passed some time at Jaunpūr in gathering knowledge and the acquirement of perfections, till the time he read '*Kāfiya*' with commentaries and other compendiums. And he also read the *Gulistān*, *Būstān*, and *Sikandar Nāma* and other works besides, and having approached monasteries and schools, he busied himself in the purification of morals in the society of the learned and the great Shaikhs of that locality.

[2] و در فن تاريخ نيز باوقوف شد -

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol. I, 357.
Also, refer Qānūngo's life of Shēr Shāh.

[2] Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'ānī (bound with Nafāi's ul Ma'āsir), B.M.MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 126a.

And in the branch of history as well he became conversant.

Like his predecessor, Sultān Sikandar Lōdī, he patronised the students of Arabic and Persian literature, and attached great importance to educational merit in all public services. In his official and private life he had scholars and poets constantly attending him[1] and was fond of listening to their literary discussions and participating in same. Once a Qāzī of his court, who was accompanied by a young student, came to see him. The keen interest evinced by the latter in the youth and the patronage shown to him is described as follows:

A young student of Arabic rewarded by Shēr Shāh for correct answers to questions on Arabic grammar.

[2]جواني باقاضي همراه - شيرشاه از قاضي پرسيد
كه اين همراهي شما ميدانم كه خويشي بشما داشته
باشد اما هيچ فضيلت هم دارد قاضي گفت طالبعلم
است كافيه ميخواند شيرشاه چون كافيه را با حواشي
درست بخاطر داشت ازان طالبعلم پرسيد كه عمر
منصرفست يا غير منصرف طالبعلم عرض نمود كه غير
منصرفست شيرشاه فرمود كه بچه دليل طالبعلم از روي
فهميدگي بدلايل معقولي جواب هوشمندانه بداد

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[1] Cf. شير شاه خود طعام با علما و مشايخ می خورد [Tārīkh i Dā'udī, B.M. MSS. Or. 197, fol. 77a.]

Also Cf. و در خدمت افاضل كرام و مشايخ عظام پيوسته Bāgh i Ma'ānī, *ut supra*].

[2] Ibid., fol. 80a.

شیرشاه فرمود که پانصد بیگه زمین و پانصد روپیه نقد باو بدهند طالبعلم عرض نمود که بنده یك قابلیت دیگر هم دارد شیرشاه فرمود که کدام قابلیت است گفت حافظ کلام ربانی ام شیرشاه فرمود که پانصد بیگه و پانصد روپیه دیگر بهی بیفزایند مقارن آن حالت از طالبعلم پرسید که موافق قابلیت خود معاش و زر نقد یافتی عرض نمود که بلے یافتم کرم پادشاهانه نیافتم شیر شاه فرمود که پانصد بیگه زمین و پانصد روپیه نقد دیگر بیفزایند -

A youth accompanied the Qāzī. Shēr Shāh asked the Qāzī, " I presume that this comrade of yours bears some relationship with you, but does he possess any merit also " ? The Qāzī replied, " The youth is a student, and reads '*Kāfiya.*' Shēr Shāh, since he had retained in his recollection the '*Kāfiya*' with its correct commentaries, asked that student, "Is '*Umar* '*munsarif* 'or '*ghair munsarif*'?" The student replied, '*ghair munsarif.*' Shēr Shāh said, " With what argument ?" The student gave an intelligent answer with his arguments based on logical reasoning. Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 '*bīgah*' of land and 500 rupees cash be given to him. The student said, " I possess one more merit." Shēr Shāh asked, " What is that ?" The student replied, "I retain in my memory the Divine book." Shēr Shāh ordered that

500 '*bīgah*' and 500 rupees more be added to his share. Simultaneously with that, he asked the student, "Did you get the means of living and the cash money according to your merits ?" The student replied, "Yes, I got them, but I have not yet received the generosity of the king." Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 '*bigah*' of land and 500 rupees cash more be added.

He had a good taste for poetry and composed verses both in Persian and Hindī under the pen-name '*Farīd.*' The following Persian verse of his own composition was his monogram which he got inscribed on his seal.

His taste for Persian and Hindī poetry.

[1] شه الله باقی ترا باد دایم
بماں شیر شه بن حسن سور قایم

God keep thee king for ever,
Live in peace Shēr Shāh, son of Hasan Sūr.

On one occasion when Humāyūn's army in a contest with Shēr Shāh was completely routed and many of the soldiers and notable officers were drowned in

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[1] Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429.

NOTE.—The author of Tārīkh i Dā'ūdī puts the first hemistich as follows:

شه اله باقي بر او باد دايم

God, the king, (or, God, the Eternal King), may remain over him always.

[Ibid., B.M. MSS., Or. 197, fol. 77a.]

the river while crossing same, Shēr Shāh composed a very opportune quatrain as follows :

[1] خدایا توانا تونگر توئي
توانائے درویش بزور توئی
فرید حسن را تو شاهي دهي
سپاه همایون بماهی دهی

O God, Mighty and Rich art Thou,
Thou art the Mighty Supporter of the poor ;
Thou givest royalty to Farīd, son of Hasan,
Thou givest the army of Humāyūn to the fish.

In his composition he followed the current Indian style which was on the lines of flowery Persian.

[2] و شعر فارسي بروش مردم هندوستان گفتے

And Persian verses he composed after the manner of the people of Hindūstān.

He also composed verses in Hindī and was a patron of Hindī poetry. The chief Hindī and Persian poets of his court were respectively Malik Muhammad Jāi'sī (the author of Padumāwat), and Shaikh 'Abdul Hai, son of Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh.

There is a Persian-Arabic verse of his as follows :

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[1] Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'ānī (bound with Nafāis ul Ma'āsir) B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 130a.

[2] Tarīkh i Dā'ūdī, B.M. MSS., Or. 197, fol. 77a.

[1] با ما چه کرد دیدي ملو غلام گیدي
قولیست مصطفی را لا خیر فی العبیدي

With us what did Mullū do ? the slave, the cursed,
The Prophet has said, " There is no good in slaves."

He evinced good taste and fine poetic humour on many occasions. Once on being told that his beard had grown white, he replied that it was true, since he wore the crown towards the evening of his life.

His death.

He died while storming the fort of Kālinjar in 952 A.H., through the bursting of an enemy rocket which caused a fire in the magazine. The date of his death was found in the most suggestive phrase "ز آتش مرد" in the following chronogram composed by one of his court poets.

[2] شیرشاه آنکه از مهابت او
شیر و بز آب را بهم میخورد

[1] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 365.

NOTE.—Shēr Shāh had composed this verse on the occasion when Mullū Khān, ruler of Mālwa playing false, had one night surreptitiously disappeared from Shēr Shāh's camp, although the latter had shown him great favour and taken him into confidence.

Farishta attributes the second hemistich to Shaikh ' Abdul Hai who had composed it offhand to match with Shēr Shāh's first hemistich. [Farishta, Vol. I, p. 425.] The same is corroborated by Nizāmuddīn Ahmad: Tabaqāt i Akbarī, p. 231.]

[2] Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429.

از جہان رفت گفت پیر خرد
سال تاریخ او ز آتش مرد

Shēr Shāh is he through whose terror,
The lion and the goat drank water together ;
He went away from the world ; old Wisdom uttered,
The year of his death, "from the fire he died."

Historians are unanimously agreed that Shēr Shāh was a just, wise, and capable monarch, and his reign was distinguished for peace and tranquillity. Badāūnī congratulates himself on his birth having taken place in the reign of a just monarch like Shēr Shāh[1] in the following words which shower a most glowing tribute of praise that could ever be paid to any Muslim king :

Badāūnī's and Farishta's estimate of Shēr Shāh.

[2] و بحمدالله که در زمان اینچنین ملکی کما قال النبي علیه السلام انا ولدت فی زمان الملك العادل تولد صاحب این منتخب در هفتدهم شهر ربیع الثانی در سنه سبع و اربعین و تسعمایه واقع شد -

And God be praised that in the regime of such a king as said by the Prophet (may peace be upon him), "I was born in the reign of a just monarch," the birth of the author

[1] This encomium of Badāūnī is significant since he had no word of praise for his own sovereign, Akbar, by whom he was patronised.

[2] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 363.

of this '*Muntakhab*' took place on the 17th of the month of *Rabī'us Sānī* in the year 947 A.H.

Farishta holds the same view of Shēr Shāh's just and peaceful administration and says that he performed many deeds of public good in building Cāravānsarās for the Hindūs and the Muslims alike on the main roads from Bengāl to the Indus (a distance of 1500 kōs), and from Āgra to Māndū (a distance of 300 kōs), requisitioning them with plentiful supplies of food and provision, and making these routes perfectly safe for journey :

[1] و در هر یك كروه سرا‌ے ساخته چاه و مسجد از خشت پخته و گچ پرداخته مؤذن و مقري و امامي مقرر نموده آنها را وظیفه معین كرده و در هر سرا‌ے یك دروازه طعام پخته و خام برا‌ے مسلمانان و دروازۀ دیگر كذلك برا‌ے هندوان مقرر نموده .... و در عهدش امنیت بمرتبۀ بود كه مترددین در صحرا و بیابان هرجا میرسیدند از كالا‌ے خود اندیشه نكرده بفراغت می غنودند گویند اگر زالے با سبدي پر از طلا در صحرا شبها خواب كردي حاجت پاسبان اصلا نبودي ...... اكثر اوقات خود را صرف كار خلائق كردی و سر انجام سپاه و تیمار رعایا بواجبی نمودي و بر طریقۀ عدل و داد استقامت داشتي –

And at the end of every kōs he got built a Sarāi, a mosque, and a well, from lime and

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[1] Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429.

baked brick. He appointed a '*mu'azzin,*' a reader of the Qur'ān, and an Imām, and fixed gratuities for each of them. And in every *Sarāi* he fixed one gate for cooked food and rations for the Muslims, and another similar gate for the Hindūs. And in his reign such was the public security that travellers in jungle and desert, wherever they reached, went to sleep without apprehension for their property. It is said that if an old woman with a tray full of gold slept at nights in a desert there was no need for a watch at all. Often he devoted himself to public service and duly attended to the affairs of his army and the welfare of his subjects, and persevered in the path of equity and justice.

Malik Muhammad Jā'isī a poet of epoch-making significance.

He is a most important poet of the court of Shēr Shāh. He combined the Sanskrit and Persian scholarship with poetic attainments, and was regarded as a Sūfī. He was patronised by Shēr Shāh whom he eulogised in his memorable Hindī poem, the '*Padumāvatī*'[1] which was a notable undertaking by a Muslim. It was

[1] A woman of remarkable beauty, daughter of the Rājā of Ceylon, seized by the Rājā of Chittaur, and afterwards fell in possession of Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī. Her story is also written in Persian poetry by one Husain Ghaznawī. Another by Rāi Gobind Munshī. Also in Urdū verse by the joint efforts of Mīr Ziyā'ūddīn 'Ibrat, and Ghulām 'Alī 'Ishrat.

written in 947 A.H., in terse Hindī language occasionally mixed with Persian and easy Hindī words. The most curious thing was that he adopted Persian characters for his text, an event of epoch-making significance in the history of both Hindī and Persian literatures in India :

> "Malik Muhammad is, we believe, the oldest poet of Hindūstān of whom we have any uncontested remains. The preservation of Padumāvatī is due mainly to the happy accident of Malik Muhammad's religious reputation. Although profoundly affected by the teaching of Kabīr, and familiarly acquainted with Hindū lore and with the Hindū Yōga philosophy, he was from the first revered as a saint by his Muhammadan co-religionists. He wrote his poem in what was evidently the actual vernacular of his time, tinged slightly with an admixture of a few Persian words and idioms due to his Musalmān predirections. It is also due to his religion that he originally wrote it in the Persian character, and hence discarded all the favourite devices of Pandits who tried to make their language correct by spelling vernacular words in the Sanskrit fashion. He spelled each word rigorously as it was pronounced. His work is hence a valuable witness to the actual condition of the vernacular language of the 16th century."[1]

[1] G. H. Grierson and Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhā Karan Dvivēdī, Padumāvatī, Vol. I, Introduction, Calcutta, 1911.

He was a disciple of two prominent Sūfīs, Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr and Sayyid Muhī'ūddīn,[1] whose praises he sang in his poems calling them as his masters and steersmen. He also poured unqualified praise on Shēr Shāh for his just and peaceful reign, and for his literary patronage. He is one of the three great Muslim poets of Hindi[2] who flourished in India in the 16th century A.D., and helped towards the formation and growth of modern Urdū the lingua franca of India.

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[1] These two in their lifetimes had considerable influence over the people of Upper Hindūstān, and belonged to the Chishtiya Nizāmiya order.

[2] The other two being Kabīr of the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī (already described under Bābur), and Rahīm of the reign of Akbar (to be discussed hereafter).

CHAPTER VI

He met his tragic death at Delhī in 963 A.H., by an accidental fall from the terrace of his library where he often retired in the afternoons to amuse himself with books. That evening also according to his wont, having examined his bookshelves, he walked on to the terrace to enjoy fresh air. Just when he was descending the staircase the '*mū'azzin*' gave a call to prayers, on hearing which he went down on his knees in holy reverence. When the '*azān*' was over, he rose supporting himself on a staff which unfortunately slipped upon the marble, and he fell down headlong several steps. He received great injuries in his head and arm, and was removed to his palace insensible. On the fifth day he expired.[1] Thus ended the life of one of the most

Humāyūn's death.

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[1] Badāūnī and Abul Fazl have probably used the Turkī work '*Mir'āt ul Mamālik*' of Sīdī 'Alī Reīs who was then personally present at the court and describes the event with almost the same accuracy of detail as do Badāūnī and Abul Fazl, with the following notable differences:

(*i*) Sīdī 'Alī Reīs omits to say from what part or section of the castle Humāyūn fell; while Badāūnī and Abul Fazl make it quite clear by stating that the fall occurred from the building known as '*Kitāb Khāna*' (library).

humane monarchs of the Mughal dynasty, a lover of science and literature, and a character nobler than any to be found in the long line of the Mughal kings.

Elegiac poems.

The court poets wrote chronograms[1] each trying to excel the other in poetic grace and plaintiveness. Of the numerous chronograms the best was of Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī quoted by Jauhar and reproduced on p. 55 *supra*. Elegiac poems were also written

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(*ii*) Sīdī 'Alī Reīs makes Humāyūn die on the fourth day of his fall. Cf. the statement :

حکمت اللهک جمعه کون اختتام نمازی وقتنده پادشاه......دوشنبه
کون دار رحمتدن جوار رحمة انتقال ایتدیلر –

[Mir'āt ul Mamālik, p. 55];

while Abul Fazl on the fifth day; and Badāūnī on the ninth. Cf. the statement :

در تاریخ هفتم شهر ربیع الاول پادشاه بر بالاے بام کتابخانه...بر
آمدند و در حین فرود آمدن...پاے ایشان بلغزید و از چند زینه
پایه غلطیده بزمین آمدند و در پانزدهم ماه مذکور ایں عالم بیرونا را
پدرود کردند –

[Badāūnī, Vol. I, pp. 465-466]

I suspect that پانزدهم is a misprint for یازدهم If so, the versions of Badāūnī and Abul Fazl tally with Jauhar who, though gives no details, yet declares that the fall took place on the 7th and the death on the 11th.

1 Cf. Maulānā Hisārī's chronogram :

و اصل حق شد همایوں پادشاه

(Humāyūn Pādishāh united with God). Also Cf. Mīr 'Abdul Hai's اے واے پادشاه من از بام افتاد O alas! my king fell down from the terrace (Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368).

of which the most touching was from the pen of Khwāja Husain Mervī as follows:

[1] ای دل صدای مرگ ترا هم شنیدنی ست
صبح اجل بمطلع عمرت دمیدنی ست
چون کل نفس ذائقة الموت حکم شد
میدان یقین که شربت مرگت چشیدنی ست
این نام زندگی که نهادند مر ترا
نام ترا بطرف مماتت کشیدنی ست
غره مشو باین گل بستان زندگی
باد خزان درین گل و بستان وزیدنی ست
از گوش خویشتن شنوی کان فلان نماند
در گوش دیگران خبرت هم رسیدنی ست

O heart, thou too hast to hear the call of death,
The morn of death is to appear on the horizon of thy life;
Since it was ordained 'every soul must taste of death,'
Know for certain that thou hast to taste the drink of death;
This name of life that they gave to thee,
Is only to draw thy name towards death;
Do not pride thyself on this rose of the garden of life,

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[1] Ibid.

The wind of autumn has to blow in this rose and the garden ;
Thou hearest with thine own ears that a certain one passed away,
In the ears of others thy news also has to go.

His wit and humour.

Humāyūn, unlike his father, was a monarch more of literary tendencies than of administrative bent[1] and possessed a keen sense of humour hardly surpassed by any

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[1] He was so fond of study that he took his books with him everywhere in his travels. Even in his flight under adverse circumstances he did not suffer to leave behind his library of which he took great care during all his journeys to and from Persia, across the deserts and in the thick of battles against his foes. Cf. his inquisitiveness about the same after his party was attacked by Kāmrān.

چون کامران میرزا جمعیت و علمهاے خوب دید دانست که پادشاه
است بیکبارگی حمله کرد و درون قلعه طالقان درآمد......حضرت خبر
از کتابخانه پرسید عرض کردند که سلامت است -

Since Kāmrān Mīrzā saw a large crowd with banners he thought it was his Majesty and attacked at once, and entered the fort of Tāliqān. His Majesty enquired about the library. They replied that it was quite safe. (Tazkirat ul Wāqi'āt B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 99a.) Also cf., his delight at receiving books presented to him by a Persian noble at Zankān near Tabrīz :

و حسین قلي میرزا برادر احمدسلطان از مشهد بدیدن والده
و برادران آمده بود که رخصت مکه معظمه حاصل نماید بندگان
حضرت را ملازمت کرد کتاب چندے که داشت پیشکش نمود از
کتابها انچه خوش آمدند گرفتند و تتمه را باو بخشیدند -

other monarch of his line. In his display and appreciation of wit he may be compared to his ancestor Timūr; in his love for science to Ulūgh Bēg; and in his poetic insight to Jahāngīr. A few instances of same are quoted below:

[1] و قرجه خان را شمشیر در گردن کرده آوردند چون بمشعل که نزدیك دربار بود رسید حکم کردند که چون مرد ریش سفید است وهد رهم گفته ایم شمشیر از گردن او بردارند......بعد ازان حسین‌قلی سلطان مهر دار این بیت را خواند

چراغی را که ایزد بر فروزد
هر آنکو تف زند ریشش بسوزد

وقرجه خان چون ریش دراز داشت این بیت بمحل واقع شد حضرت ازین سخن کمال خوشحالي نمودند -

And they brought Qarjā Khān with sword hung round his neck. When he reached the torch which was near the *Audience Hall*,

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And Husain Qulī Mīrzā, brother of Ahmad Sultān, who had come from Mashad to see his mother and brothers to obtain leave for Mecca, interviewed his Majesty, and presented some books which he possessed. Out of these books his Majesty took some which pleased him and gave back the rest.

(Tārikh-i-Humāyūn, I. O. MSS., 223, fol. 3b.)

Also cf., his death by a fall from the terrace of his library to which he repaired in the afternoons for his mental recreation.

[1] Ibid., foll. 36b and 37a.

Humāyūn ordered that as Qarjā Khān was grey-haired and we had also perjured his blood, the sword should be removed from his neck. After this Husain Qulī Sultān, the seal-bearer, recited this verse :

The lamp which is lit by God,
Whoever puffs at it his beard burns.

And since Qarjā Khān had a long beard this verse came opportune. His Majesty enjoyed this wit in the extreme.

Another instance of his ready wit is to be found in the following :

[1] شیخ علي بیگ بهبود چوبدار را گفت که مبارکبادي بحضرت پادشاه رفته بده بهبود مذکور ...... روان شد نظر حضرت برین سوار افتاد پرسیدند که کدام سوار اینکه مي آید مردم بقیاس عرض کردند که بهبود چوبدار باشد حضرت پادشاه تفاول بشارت نیک گرفت و فرمودند که انشاءالله بهبود خواهد بود -

Shaikh 'Ali Bēg asked Bihbūd Chūbdār to go and congratulate his Majesty. The aforesaid Bihbūd started off. The eye of his Majesty fell on this rider and he asked, " Who is this rider that cometh "? People by mere guess replied that he might be 'Bihbūd' Chūbdār. His Majesty took this to be a good omen and said, "God be pleased, it would be *'bihbūd'* " (*i.e.*, it would turn out good).

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[1] Tāzkirat ul Wāqi'āt, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 48b.

On one occasion Humāyūn composed a '*qit'a*' in which he very beautifully played on the word چتور (*chitaur*), and sent it on to Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī :

[1] اے کہ هستی غنیم شہر چتور
کافراں را چطور میگیري
پادشاهي رسید بر سر تو
تو نشسته چتور میگیري

O thou who art the enemy of the city of Chitaur,
How (*chitaur*) wilt thou capture the unbelievers?
A king has reached over thy head,
Sitting, art thou taking Chitaur ?

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[1] Farishta, Vol. I, p. 399.

Cf., Bahādur Shāh's reply :

من کہ هستم غنیم شہر چتور * کافراں را بزور میگیرم
هر کہ بکند حمایت چتور * تو ببین کش چطور میگیرم

I, who am the enemy of Chitaur,
Will capture the infidels by force ;
Whoever stands in defence of Chitaur,
Thou may'st see how I capture him also.

It may be observed that Bahādur's reply is only a repetition of Humāyūn's wit, and carries no originality or improvement upon the latter,

Points in his character partly responsible for political crisis in his administration, and his forced flight to Persia.

He was a monarch of great humanity and possessed of very noble traits of character.[1] He was disposed to spend his time more in literary and peaceful concerns than aggression and military tactics on the battlefield.

His gentlest behaviour towards his brothers[2] through whose undisguised hostility he suffered

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[1] Cf. Shāh Tahmāsp's remark about Humāyūn's character on his interceding for the pardon and release of two of his enemies who had poisoned the Shāh's mind against him, and were eventually convicted for the offence :

چوں رقعه رسید و خواندند حضرت شاه عالم‌پناه در تعجب شدند و فرمودند که محمد همایوں پادشاه چه حلم دارد ایں مردم در پے آزار وے بودند درینولا شفاعت ایشان میکند -

When the letter reached and the Shāh read it, he became astonished and said, "What, clement disposition does Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh possess! These people were seeking his injury, but he intercedes for them. [Jauhar, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 79a.]

Also cf. his reply to the counsel of one of his officers to take possession of Rāja Māldeo's territory where Humāyūn's party was then taking shelter and had procured plentiful supply of grain and water :

اگر بفرض پادشاهي روے زمین بدهند من اینچنیں کار قبیم و کفران نمی کنم

If they were to give me the kingship of the whole world, I will not commit so foul a deed or be guilty of such ingratitude. [Ibid.]

Cf. his reply to the counsel of his Generalissimo importunating him to kill Kāmrān who was in intrigue with Shēr Shāh, and seeking to dispossess Humāyūn of his kingdom :

exile and reverses in his fights with Shēr Shāh, is a glorious chapter in history and a splendid trait in his character. One sublime example of his tender, grateful, and generous nature, is to be found in the munificent reward that he gave to a poor water-carrier who had helped him with a sheep-skin when his horse had slipped from underneath him in crossing the Ganges at Chausa.[1] It is a romantic and almost

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براے ایں دنیاے ناپایدار برادر خود را از جان بیجان نمی کنم...و
اینچنیں کار ناشایسته از من نمی آید

For this perishable world I will not render my brother from life to lifeless, and such unworthy act will not emanate from me. [Ibid., fol. 34b]

[1] Cf. the protests of his brothers against this measure, and its extreme inadvisability due to the grave risks involved in compelling his nobles to bow publicly to a menial at a time when danger from Shēr Shāh was threatening :

غرض آں غلام سقا را بر تخت نشاندند و حکم فرمودند که همه
امرایان کورنش بغلام سقه بکنند و غلام بهر کس هرچه خواهد
بخشد و منصب بدهد تا دو روز به آن غلام پادشاهی دادند میرزا
هندال در آں مجلس نه بودند......میرزا کامران نیز نیامدند......و
بحضرت گفته فرستادند که غلام را بخشیش و رعایتهاے دیگر بایست
کرد چه لازم بود که بر تخت نشیند دریں وقت که شیر خاں نزدیک
رسیده ایں چه کار است که حضرت میکنند

To be brief, his Majesty made the slave water-carrier sit on the throne, and gave order that all the '*Umarā* should make obeisance to that slave water-carrier, and the slave might bestow on any one whatever he liked and confer '*mansab.*' Till two days his Majesty gave royalty to that

unheard-of instance in modern history that a monarch ever rewarded the services of any of his truest, bravest, or loyalist officers, much less a menial of the rank of a water-carrier, with seating him on the royal throne.

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menial. Mirzā Hindāl was not present in that assembly, and Mirzā Kāmrān too did not attend, and sent word to his Majesty saying, "To the slave gifts and other kinds of concessions should be granted. What need is there that he should sit on the throne at a time when Shēr Khān has approached near? What is this work that your Majesty is doing?"

[Gulbadan Begam, Humāyūn Nāmā, p. 44.]

CHAPTER VII

A great tribute of praise is paid by some Persian and English historians to Shāh Tahmāsp for his very noble and generous reception of Humāyūn. Sir John Malcolm, the great historian and authority on Persian affairs, writes thus:

Reception of Humāyūn by Shāh Tahmāsp.

"The reign of Shāh Tahmāsp owes much of its celebrity to the truly royal and hospitable reception he gave to the Emperor Hoomāyoon, when that monarch was forced to fly from India and take shelter in his dominions. The Persians have in all ages boasted c their hospitality and the vanity of every individual is concerned in supporting the pretensions of his country to a superiority over others in the exercise of this national virtue;. . . and we know no example of a distressed monarch being so royally welcomed, so generously treated, and so effectually relieved. All means of the kingdom were called forth to do honour to the royal guest; and they were as liberally furnished to replace him upon his throne. Tahmāsp merited the

Sir John Malcolm's great tribute.

praise which his conduct upon this occasion obtained him from distant nations."[1]

This is an exaggerated, and to an extent erroneous account of the reception and the help given to Humāyūn. It is neither supported by reference to any historical source, nor its validity sufficiently tested. Persian writers also, especially of later date, express such views which similarly are based on no historical data. Some observations from "the artless and transparently truthful narrative of Humāyūn's personal attendant Jauhar," are reproduced below:

Mis-judgment of Sir John.

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[1] Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia, Vol. I, 508.

NOTE.—The help eventually given by the Shāh consisted of several thousand foot and cavalry which dispersed soon after the conquest of Qandhār, with all its treasures surrendered to them. Humāyūn then recruited fresh soldiers with whose help he was able to conquer Cābul, and there studiously busied himself from four to five years in making special preparations for his attack on India. He sent rich presents to all the great chiefs of Qandhār, Samarqand, Bukhārā, and other towns, inviting them to join him in his expedition, giving them great hopes for the future. It was to this newly raised army led under his command after five years of his return from Persia that he virtually owes his throne of India. Cf. his '*masnawī*' quoted on p. 18 supra. Also, Cf. Jauhar, fol. 127a:

حضرت پادشاه درین جاها سیر میکردند و اهل عظمت و شمشیر
زنان ملک سمرقند و بخارا و بمثابه اعلام کردند و بعضی را
سوغات فرستادند و نوشتند که اینجانب دغدغه متوجه شدن بملک
هندوستان دارد انشاءالله تعالی اگر تشریف آرند هیچ مانع نیست
بیایند تا یکبار شکار هندوستان بکنیم تا مشیت چه آرد

[1] علي الصباح حضرت شاه عالمپناه کوچ کرده در مقام سلطانیه فرود آمدند...حضرت پادشاه بسلام رفته بودند که چندان التفات بجانب خود ندیدند کلفت خاطر کشیدند...و خود را الزام کردن گرفتند که کاشکے نمی آمدیم و از براے مهمانے حضرت پادشاه هیزم جمع کرده بودند که حضرت شاه گفته فرستادند که اگر در دین ما در آیند در تربیت می باشیم و الاّ به تمامي اهل مذهب شمارا دریں هیزم آتش داده خواهیم سوخت حضرت پادشاه گفته فرستادند که ما بدیں خود قایم مقام هستیم آمدیم و مارا چندان آرزوے پادشاهی هم نیست و هر چه هست به ارادهٔ خداے عزوجل است دل خود را باو بسته ایم -

Jauhar's eventful narrative, a most trustworthy record in existence.

Early in the morning the Shāh (Tahmāsp) having marched, arrived and halted at Sultāniyā. His Majesty (Humāyūn) had gone to greet him, but seeing no attention paid to himself was grieved at heart, and began to accuse himself, saying, "Would that I had not not come!" And for the entertainment of his Majesty they had collected some firewood. The Shāh sent a verbal message, saying, "If you enter into our religion we will extend our support, otherwise with all your co-religionists we shall burn you alive in this pile of

[1] Ibid., fol. 7lb.

wood." His Majesty returned the message, "we are firm in our religion; we came; and we do not entertain much desire even for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God—the Great, and the High. We have bound our heart to Him."

Humāyūn approached by Shāh Tahmāsp to accept the Shī'a faith.

Shortly afterwards Humāyūn was approached through a special messenger of the Shāh to accept the Shī'a faith under a similar threat:

[1] قاضي جهان وکیل حضرت شاه در ملازمت حضرت پادشاه آمد عرض کرد که شما تنها نیستید از سبب شما قریب هفت صد کس کشته خواهد شد

Qāzī Jahān, the Vakīl of the Shāh, came to his Majesty and said, "You are not alone. On your account about seven hundred people will be put to death."

Apart from this, Shāh Tahmāsp was all the time actually thinking to take Humāyūn's life which was saved only through a happy accident. The Shāh revealed his secret to his son Bahrām Mīrzā, who out of compassion divulged it to his sister through whose tender pleadings the situation was changed, and to whose truly noble spirit Humāyūn owes his life and all his subsequent career:

Humāyūn's life saved through the noble intervention of Shāh Tahmāsp's daughter.

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[1] Ibid., fol. 72a.

[1] الغرض یك روز حضرت شاه عالم‌پناه با بهرام میرزا
در سخن هلاکیت دشمنان بودند حضرت پادشاه فرمودند
ازین سخن میرزا غلبهٔ کلفت کشید و رقت کرد بهمشیرهٔ
خود این ماجرا ظاهر ساخت که همایون پادشاه از نسل
تیمور پادشاه بپاے خود به امیدواري تمام آمده و چند
مدت گذشته که با او همنمك شده ایم درین ولا شاه
عالم‌پناه حکم باطل میکردند چون این عفیفه سخن
شنید بگریه در آمد که حضرت شاه در خانه آن عفیفه
رسید بهرام‌میرزا سلام کرد و بدر رفت و حضرت شاه نزول
فرمودند و پرسیدند سبب گریستن چیست عرض کرد که
بروز خود میگریم باز فرمودند که سلامتي ما بخواهید
گفت همیشه در دعاے حضرت شاه عالم‌پناه مشغولم فاما
شما هر چهار طرف دشمن دارید......و شنیده‌میشود که
محمد همایون پادشاه پسر و برادران دارد بایذا رسانیدن
اوچه بدست مي آید اگر بر احوال او رحم نکنند و
سرفراز نفرمایند و امداد او بجاے نیاورند رخصت کنند
تا در هرجا که داند برود شاه عالم‌پناه این کلام شنید
در ساعت تسلي شد و گفت تمام امرایان مصلحت بیخردي
خود عرض میکردند فاما بهتر ازین نیست که تو
میگوئي -

To be brief, one day the Shāh talked with Bahrām Mīrzā of the killing of Humāyūn.

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[1] Ibid., foll. 76a—76b.

From this speech the Mīrzā being overcome with grief wept, and divulged this affair to his sister saying, " Humāyūn Pādishāh from the progeny of Timūr Pādishāh has come on foot with all hopes, and some period has elapsed since we have eaten the salt together. At this time the Shāh ordered a wrong thing." When this chaste lady heard this speech she burst into tears. In the meantime the Shāh entered her house. Bahrām Mīrzā saluted him and went out. And the Shāh halted and asked what was the reason for her crying. She said, "I weep on my day." The Shāh again said, " Wish our welfare." She said, " I am always busy in my prayer for your Majesty, but you have on all the four sides enemies. And it is heard that Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh has a son and brothers. What good should come to hand by torturing him? If you do not take pity on his affairs and exalt and help him, you should bid him farewell, so that whatever place he knows of he may go to." The Shāh listened to this speech and got pacified in that moment, and said, " All the *'Umarā* expressed their unwise policies, but there is nothing better than what thou sayest."

CHAPTER VIII

During Humāyūn's reign, poets and scholars from all parts of Persia, Turkistān, Bukhārā, and Samarqand, continued to emigrate to India in larger numbers than before. Besides those already mentioned, there were many, like Maulānā 'Abdul Bāqī Sadr Turkistānī, Mīr 'Abdul Hai Bukhārī, Khwāja Hijrī Jāmī, Maulānā Bazmī, Mullā Muhammad Sālih, and Mullā Jān Muhammad, who accompanied Humāyūn on his second entry into Hindūstān.[1] The two popular poets Jāhī Yatmiyān of Bukhārā and Hairatī of Māwarā un Nahr had entered Humāyūn's service at Cābul, and received his favours. Similarly Khwāja Ayyūb from Māwarā un Nahr, Maulānā Nādirī from Samarqand, and Maulānā Junūbī from Badakhshān, all journeyed from their homes to Āgra, and received *mansabs*.

Exodus of poets and scholars from Persia to India.

A large majority of scholars, like Mīr 'Abdul Latīf Qazwīnī, Maulānā Abul Qāsim

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[1] Bā Yazīd, Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I.O., MSS., 223, foll. 72b—76a.

Part played by the Mughal as compared with the Safawī in the uplift of Persian prose and poetry.

Astrābādī, Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārighī Shīrāzī, and Shauqī Tabrīzī, came actually from the Persian towns and the Safawī court itself which, *de facto*, did not rise to the height of the munificence of the Indian courts in their patronage of Persian prose and poetry.[1] The last-named, Shauqī Tabrīzī, who was

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[1] Poets under the Safawī, were on an average, paid from 20 to 30 'tūmāns' for their 'qasāid' and eulogies of the court. There is one instance discovered of a panegyrist of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great—Shānī Taklū—who was once weighed in gold for his beautiful poetry, and on his retirement from the Shāh's service got a stipend of 20 'tūmāns' a month (a sum equal to sixty rupees). Against this solitary instance of Persian munificence, a good many brighter ones of Indian courts may be quoted: Cf.—

(i) Zuhūrī receiving several elephants loaded with gold and silver and other rich presents for his Sāqī Nāma in praise of Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. [Sar-Kush, Kalimāt ush Shu'arā—account of Zuhūrī.]

(ii) 'Urfī receiving from the Khān i Khānān 100,000 rupees in reward for a 'qasīda.' [Ibid., Account of *Khān i Khānān.*]

(iii) Hayātī Kāshī was weighed in gold by Jahāngīr for his verses on the style of Khusrau's Tughlaq Nāma. So also, Sa'īdā i Gīlānī. [Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī. p. 240.]

(iv) Abū Tālib Kalīm, Sa'īdā i Gīlānī, and Bāfiyā, all weighed in gold by Shāh Jahān.

(v) Maulvī 'Ābdul Hakīm Siālkōtī weighed twice in gold.

(vi) Ābdul Hamīd Lāhorī, author of Shāh Jahān Nāma, was similarly weighed in gold, in addition to receiving a large sum in cash, on completion of his history.

an organ of the poetical assemblies arranged by Sām Mīrzā, at the Safawī court, had left the Prince's service only to enter Humāyūn's.[1] Similarly Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārighī who came from Shīrāz, was a pauper, and had not with him even a pair of spare clothes to put on except the one ragged old garment which he had on his body.[2] A good many poets and scholars came after Shāh Tahmāsp, in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great. The one notable example is that of Masīh Ruknā i Kāshī, who is reckoned among the best poets of Persia in his day, and was the chief poet of the court of Shāh 'Abbās. The Shāh not only failed to extend the patronage he deserved, but on one occasion even thought the favour he was showing him was too much for a poet, in consequence of which he left the court and came away to India[3] in the reign of Akbar. This is the age when the liberalities of the Deccan and the

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(vii) Qudsī, a most notable instance in the history of Mughal patronage, received in reward for a *qasīda* from a rich noble of Shāh Jahān's court, all his estate in landed and movable property, with heaps of gold and silver; and his mouth was filled seven times with precious jewels by Shāh Jahān himself.

(viii) Nazīrī receiving from *Khān i Khānān* 100,000 rupees cash; and 30,000 gold mohars from Jahāngīr.

[1] Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 382. Cf. the statement: "He left the service of Sām Mīrzā. . . and went with the Emperor Humāyūn."

[2] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 476. Cf. the statement:

از قلاشي مقرطا غير از كهنه بوستينے با خود نداشت

[3] Lutf 'Alī Bēg Āzar, Ātashkada, p. 339.

Mughal kings in jealous rivalry with each other were attracting, more than they did ever before, the Persian poets and scholars from the remote corners of Persia, and the Western and Central Asia. Not only the Mughal kings but their *'Umarā* too, extended an equal patronage to these literate emigrants, who in their turn sang praises of their benefactors in their beautiful poems which resounded in Persia and served as an impetus to others who yet lagged behind. This is one of the main reasons why the literary activities at the Indian courts in the field of Persian literature outweigh those of the Persians in Persia. The elegant poetry written in this and the later periods, and the useful literature produced in the shape of histories, translations from Sanskrit and Hindī works, biographies of poets, and dictionaries of Persian language and idiom, stand a contrast and a marvel to Persia.

Causes of the dearth of notable poets in Persia under the Safawī as put forward by Persian historians.

Various explanations are offered by Persian writers for the non-appearance of any great poets in Persia under the Safawī rule. As a matter of fact both the 16th and the 17th centuries were notably poor in the number and the quality of poets produced in Persia. The chief reason for this lull, as pointed out by Iskandar Munshī—the celebrated historian of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, was the change in the mentality of the Shāh and of the people from the panegyric to the religious poetry or Muharram mournings which constitute strophes in praise of the

Martyrs: Imām Hasan, and Imām Husain.[1] The same view is endorsed by subsequent Persian and English chroniclers.[2] It is also declared that the panegyrists were not tolerated by the Persian kings, and consequently no poets of note appeared at their court; and even if they did, they were discouraged and no reward was held out to them for their eulogies. The Safawīs, we are told, maintained that the person of the Imāms and not that of the kings was worthy of the encomiums of the poets.

Weakness of their contention.

While all this may be admitted as a distraction, it cannot at the same time be any real reason for the following considerations: First, that the panegyrists did exist under each of the Safawī kings, and received rewards for their encomiums on the person of the Shāh; and second, that the '*marsiyas*' (or the Muharram mournings) did not and could not in the least stop other kinds of poetry. The production of the former as compared with the latter is only a drop in the ocean. The poet Qāsimī, for instance, was a panegyrist of Shāh Ismā'īl, and was rewarded no less for his '*Qasā'id*' than for his other poems, of which, however, none was in praise of

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[1] The latter is best known by his revered title of "*Sayyid ush Shuhadā*" whose martyrdom at Kerbala is a memorable event in the history of Islām and is the subject of universal mourning.

[2] Cf. Browne, Persian Literature in Modern Times, pp. 172-3.

the Imāms.[1] The highest reward which he got was for his poem entitled '*Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl*' written in imitation of Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma* in extravagant praise of the Shāh. After Shāh Ismā'īl's death, he stayed for some time at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, and possibly by the latter's desire wrote a similar poem entitled '*Shāh Nāma i Shāh Tahmāsp*' in his praise. In the latter part of his life he repaired to India, being attracted by the liberalities of the Mughal court, and was graciously received by Akbar.

Among the court poets of Shāh Tahmāsp, besides Qāsimī (who came over to India), there were many, of whom Shauqī Tabrīzī (who followed suit), Zamīrī, 'Abdī, and Muhtasham Kāshī, were conspicuous. Muhtasham poured unqualified praise on the Shāh, which not only was admitted but justly rewarded by the latter. The Persian biographer, Lutf 'Alī Bēg Azar, describes him as a panegyrist of the Shāh, and a prominent figure among the poets of the Safawī court:

[2] سر آمد شعراے فصاحت شعار آں روزگار و مداح
شاہ طہماسپ صفوی است -

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[1] Cf. his poems :

(i) Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl.

(ii) Kār Nāma, a poem on the game of Chaugān, written at the request of the Shāh himself.

(iii) Lailā wa Majnūn, dedicated to the Shāh.

(iv) Khusrau wa Shīrīn, dedicated to Sām Mīrzā.

[Tuhfa i Sāmī, U. L. C., Or. 648, fol. 28a.]

[2] Atashkada, p. 331.

He is the head of the eloquent poets of that period, and a panegyrist of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī.

Some specimens, showing the nature of praises showered by him from time to time on the person of the Shāh, are reproduced below:

[1] شه گیتی ستان طهماسپ آں کز بیم رزم او
تن پیل دماں کاهد دل شیر ژیان لرزد
اگر فغفور چین آید بقصد آستاں بوسش
ز چین ابروے دربان آں بر آستاں لرزد

The king—conqueror of the world—Tahmāsp,
is such that from the fear of his battle,
The body of the fierce elephant diminishes,
and the heart of the ferocious lion
shivers ;
If the emperor of China comes with the
intent to bow at his threshold,
From the scowl of the porter of that
threshold, he trembles.

[2] تا بدن دستگاه جاں باشد
دست دست خدایگاں باشد

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

NOTE.—This is in poor imitation of Anwarī's famous '*qasīda*' in praise of Sultān Sanjar, beginning :

گر دل و دست بحر و کاں باشد * دل و دست خدایگاں باشد
شاه سنجر که کمترین خدمش * در جهان پادشه نشان باشد

شاه طهماسپ آنکه در سپهش
همچو سنجر هزار خان باشد
آنکه از صدمت عدالت او
دزد چاؤش کاروان باشد
وانکه از هیبت سیاست او
گرگ باغي سگ شبان باشد
چون عنان فرس بجنباني
رعشه در جسم انس وجان باشد
هم درنگ تو يك زمان درجنگ
مهلت صد هزار جان باشد
من چنان شمع معني افروزم
انوري مستنير آن باشد

Till body be the monopoly of the hand of the soul,
That hand be the hand of the king;
Shāh Tahmāsp is such that in his army,
Like Sanjar there are thousand *Khāns*;
He is such that from the dread of his justice,
The thief is the herald of a *Kāravān*;
And he is such that through the fear of his chastisement,
The lawless wolf is the dog of a shepherd;
When thou givest motion to the rein of thy steed,
Paralysis overtakes the body of man and genii;

Thy delay for a moment in battle,
Is a respite to a hundred thousand lives;
I am such a candle, enlightener of meaning,
That Anwarī seeks light therefrom.

Side by side with this he also wrote his famous '*Haft-band*' in praise of the Imāms. Zamīri is another who began his career as a poet in Shāh Tahmāsp's reign, and produced volumes of secular poetry in which respect no other poet in the whole of Persia could compete with him.[1] 'Abdī is yet another who carried the palm in his lavishness of praise on Shāh Tahmāsp. Besides the usual '*qasā'id*,' he wrote a long panegyric on the Shāh, entitled '*Būstān i Khiyal*'[2] (the garden of imagination), also called '*Haftkhizāna*.' A specimen from same will easily reveal the tendency of the Shāh's taste as also that of the poets at his court:

[3]در مدح سلطان السلاطین خاقان الخواقین شاه طهماسپ الصفوي الموسوي الحسيني خلد الله ملکه ابدا -

شهنشاه جمجاه دارا سریر
که هم تاج بخش است و هم ملک گیر

[1] Atashkada, p. 243. Cf. the statement:

ضمیری - اسمش کمال الدین حسین در زمان شاه طهماسپ صفوی زبان بشاعری کشاده و در زمان حیات داد شاعري داده و گویا در اصفهان بلکه در ولایت دیگر بکثرت شعر او شاعري نیامده -

[2] Or. 3504. B.M. MSS.

[3] Ibid., fol. 8a.

محمد نسب شاه حیدر شکوه
که لرزد چو دریا ازو پشت کوه
طرازندهٔ افسر سروری
فرازندهٔ رایت حیدری
سرافراز گردن کش تاج بخش
که انجم سپاهست و خورشید رخش
فلک بارگاه کواکب سپاه
شهنشاه دیندار طهماسپ شاه

In praise of the Sultān of Sultāns, Khāqān of Khāqāns, Shāh Tahmāsp as Safawī, al Mūsawī, al Husainī, may God perpetuate his kingdom :—

The emperor of Jamshīd's dignity of Darius's throne,
Who bestows crown as well as takes away kingdom;
Of the Prophet Muhammad's lineage (may peace of God be upon him), of 'Alī's grandeur,
That the back of mountain shivers like sea for fear of him ;
The decorator of the crown of chief ship,
The uplifter of the banner of 'Alī;
Of exalted head, of proud neck, and bestower of crown,
That the stars are his soldiery, and the sun is his steed ;
Of the court of the sky, of the army of stars,

The keeper of religion, the emperor
Shāh Tahmasp.

In the following the poet refers to a '*mansab*' which he got from the Shāh in appreciation of secular poems consisting of '*qasā'id*,' and '*masnawī*,' and '*ghazal*,' all of which proceeded from his pen as a sequel to the Shāh's patronage. In the third verse, in which he observes that his poetry was up till then in abeyance, he emphatically denies that it was due to any sense of shame for writing poetry :

[1] بدیوان اعلی چو بشتافتم
مناسب ترین منصبی یافتم
ازان منصب آورده نانے بدست
بنام عزیزان ندادم شکست
ولے در نهان بود شعرم شعار
نبودی ازان نسبتم ننگ و عار
قصاید ز کلکم برآورد سر
چو از نخلهٔ خ. خرماے تر
نوشتم بکلك بدایع نگار
غزلهاے زیبندهٔ آبدار
تتبع نمودم از اطوار نظم
چه طور است خوشتر ببازار نظم

When I hurried to the sublime court,
I got a most suitable '*mansab*' ;

[1] Ibid., fol. 10b.

From that '*mansab*' I brought to my hand
a bread,
I caused no discomfiture (discredit) to the
name of my dear ones ;
Albeit my profession of a poet lay in hiding,
It was not due to any sense of shame or
disgust arising from my connection
with that ;
'*Qasā'id*' made their head from my pen,
Like fresh dates from a dry palm-tree ;
I wrote from my quaint-writing pen,
Well-tempered glittering *ghazals* ;
From the styles of poetry I followed,
What style was more fascinating in the
market of poetry.

Still more reassuring are the lines addressed to Shāh Tahmāsp, in which the author emphatically declares, as his own reason for the praise of the Shāh, that the panegyric poetry in Persia was still, as it had ever been before, the order of the day :

[1] هر آنکو ز مدح شهے داشت نور
جهانگیر شد همچو فرخنده هور
هر آنکه نبودش بمدحے مدار
نبودش چناں هم بدهر اعتبار
وگر از سخن پروران کهن
مهیں باب مدح اندر آمد سخن

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[1] Ibid., fol. 9b.

همه کرده از نامور نامه ها
بمدح شهان گرم هنگامه ها
مراهم خوش آید که دیوان من
که آمد گرامي تر از جان من
ز نام شهے چوں تو گیرد جمال
کلامم ز مدحت پذیرد کمال
اگر سعدي از نام بوبکر سعد
خط شاهد نظم را کرد جعد
کنوں عبدي از نام طهماسپ شاه
سخن را زند بر فلك بارگاه

Every one who had lustre from the praise of a king,
Became the possessor of world like the blessed sun ;
Any one whose poetry was not based on praise,
His worth was not much recognised in the world ;
Again, from the poets of yore,
The best chapter which proceeded was that of praise ;
All commenced their records from the name of the renowned,
From the praise of kings they warmed their assemblies ;
To me also it becomes agreeable, that my poetic collection,

Which is held more precious than my life ;
May take embellishment from the name of a king like thee,
My poetry from thy praise attain perfection ;
If Sa'dī from the name of Bū Bakr Sa'd,
Plaited the hair of poetry, the bride ;
Now 'Abdī from the name of Shāh Tahmāsp,
Pitches the royal tent of speech above the sky.

These outpourings are followed by a fulsome and long drawn out panegyric which would defy any poet. Some by way of specimen are quoted below :—

اگر عنصری زد ز محمود دم
بر آورد در ملك معني علم
مرا بين كه محمود شد عاقبت
كه كردم چو تو خسروے را صفت
نظامي و خاقاني از اخستان
اگر باز گفتند صد داستان
كه بود اخستان شاه شروان زمين
ترا صد چو شروان بود در نگين
اگر گفت خسرو همه سال و ماه
مديح علاءدين و فيروز شاه
كدامي يكے بود از ايشان چنان
كه يارد شدن با تو همداستان
اگر زانكه سلمان دلي داشت شاد
بمدح اويس جلاير نژاد

اویس ار چه شاهی جهاندار بود
شتربانیت را سزاوار بود
اگر جامی از مدح سلطان حسین
سخن را بدر و گهر داد زین
ترا کمترین بندهٔ زینسان که هست
بود جای سلطان حسینش نشست
چو ممدوح من از همه برتر است
مرا در سخن رتبهٔ دیگر است
من آنروز گشتم چو خسرو سمر
که از جوهر فرد دادم خبر

Similarly Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, had his panegyrists, one of whom, Shānī Taklū, his favourite poet, was weighed in gold for the following beautiful verse, and received his weight for his reward.

[1]اگر دشمن کشد ساغر و گر دوست
بطاق ابرو مستانهٔ اوست

Whether an enemy drinks a cup of wine, or does a friend,
Both do so at the arc of his tipsy eye-brow.

At this, other poets showed jealousy, and wrote versified complaints to the Shāh, indirectly challenging the merits of their lucky comrade. The one written by Mullā Lutfī, another panegyrist of the Shāh's court, is well-worth quoting :

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[1] Ālam 'Ārā i Abbāsī, MSS. dated 1156 A.H., fol. 132a.

شاها ز کرم جهاں منور کردی[1]
ملک دل عالمے مسخر کردی
شاعر کہ بخاک رہ برابر شدہ بود
برداشتی و برابر زر کردی

O king, thou hast illumined the world with
thy generosity,
Thou hast captured the kingdom of the heart
of a whole world ;
The poet who had become equal to the dust
of the path (*i.e.*, whose merits were
as low as dust),
Thou hast picked him up, and made him
equal with gold.

Still more prominent was Hakīm Ruknuddīn, popularly known as Hakīm Ruknā i Kāshī, who composed under the pen-name '*Masīh*' which suggests with his profession as a physician.[2] He was a competent poet and wrote over one lac (100,000) of verses according to the estimate of Persian biographers. On one occasion he noticed clear inattention

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[1] Ibid., fol. 134b.

[2] Cf., Shifā'i, another court-physician and poet of Shāh' Abbās, the Great. His real name was Sharāfuddīn, and *Shifāi* was his pen-name which, like '*Masīh*' is appropriately suggestive with his profession. This taste for fine phraseology and choosing homogeneous words was (as is already shown on p. 64, supra), also prevalent at the Persian court, and was *de facto* brought to India from Persia itself, where, through slackness of poetical market, it did not develop so fully as it did in India under the liberal patronage of the Mughals.

and disregard on the part of Shāh 'Abbās (*vide* supra, p. 151), and consequently left his court for that of the Mughal, with the following verse addressed to the Shāh:

گر فلك يك صبحدم بامن گران باشد سرش[1]
شام بيرون ميروم چون آفتاب از كشورش

If the sky on a single morn makes its head
heavy against me,
That very evening I walk out like the sun
from its dominion.

He arrived at the Mughal court with his famous contempo.ary—Hakīm Sadrā of Shīrāz—(who subsequently had his title of '*Masihuz Zamān*' conferred upon him by Jahāngīr), in the last days of Akbar, and was received by 'Abdurrahīm, *Khān i Khānān*, who took them to the court. Jahāngīr mentions them among his state physicians.[2]

About the same time another poet Shakībī Isfahānī left his native town for Āgra to enter the serv e of the *Khān i Khānān*.[3] Two of his verses from

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[1] Ātashkada, p. 339. [This shows the extent of the influence that the Mughal patronage in India exercised on the Persian court, and specially on the minds of its poets. It not only infused in the a spirit of independence but made them actually slight the patronage shown by the Safawī.]

[2] Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī, p. 19.

[3] It is to be noted that the rewards by *Khān i Khānān* exceeded a lac of rupees. In addition to this, the latter secured for him a permanent *jāgir* from Jahāngīr's government.

Sāqī Nāma which he wrote in grateful acknowledgment of his master's liberal patronage are worthy of notice:

[1]بیا ساقي آن آب حیوان بده
ز سر چشمهٔ خان‌خانان بده
سکندر طلب کرده لیکن نیافت
که در هند بود او به ظلمت شتافت

Come, o cup-bearer, give me that water of nectar,
Give me from the stream of the *Khān i Khānān*;
Alexander sought for it but did not get,
For it was in India and he went in the region of darkness.

Real causes of the lull.

In the face of such strong evidences there remains little doubt that the real cause of this lull in the activities of poets in Persia is not in what is so easily explained by a certain class of writers. It surely lies in some other quarter. A Persian poet of the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp wittily points out the reason of this lack, as resulting from the Shāh's attention being paid to calligraphy, painting, and riding, in the following verse:

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1 Bayāz-i-Mīrzā Asad Bēg Turkmān, MSS., dated, Āgra, 8th Safar, 1146 A. H., fol. 76a. [My attention was first drawn to this work by Prof. A. Qavī, Fāni, M.A., of Lucknow University, who also very kindly permitted the use of his copy which I believe is rare.]

[1] بے تکلف خوش ترقي کردہ اند
کاتب و نقاش و قزويني و خر

Without trouble they have made a good
progress,
The scribe, the painter, the Qazwīnī, and the
ass.

Another sober and somewhat stronger evidence of the lack of patronage to poets in Persia is to be found in the verse of Lisānī Shīrāzī, who was a contemporary of Shāh 'Ismā'īl and Shāh Tahmāsp. On one occasion when he happened to go to Tabrīz, he composed a '*qasida*' in praise of Amīr Najm, II, wherein he complained as follows:

[2] مے من صافي و ارباب مروت بےذوق
زر من بيغش و صراف سخن نابينا

My wine is pure, but the possessors of
sympathy are devoid of taste,
My gold is unalloyed, but the banker of
speech (judge) is blind.

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[1] Prof. Browne (quoting from Ahsanut Tawārīkh), Persian Literature in Modern Times, A.D. 1500—1924, p. 97.
Cf. his remark:
According to the Ahsanut Tawārīkh, Shāh Tahmāsp was in his youth much interested in calligraphy and painting; he also liked riding on Egyptian asses, which consequently became fashionable, and were adorned with golden trappings and gold-embroidered saddle-cloths.

[2] Bayāz-i-Mīrzā Asad Bēg, fol. 57b, ut supra.

The above view finds further support in the utterance of another poet Kausarī of the court of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great. While extolling in the usual manner the virtues of the Shāh[1] in the masnawī entitled 'فرهاد و شیرین' (*Farhād wa Shīrīn*), the poet describes the dull atmosphere obtained in Persia, as compared with India, in the following plain and unmistakable language :

[2] شكايت كم توجهي اهل ايران بارباب معاني

دریں کشور خریدار سخن نیست
کسے سر گرم بازار سخن نیست
سخن را قدر و مقدارے نمانده
معاني را خریدارے نمانده
نباشد از اکابر تا اراذل
کسے را دل بسوے شعر مایل
ز بس باشد سخن بے قدر و مقدار
بود امروز شعر و شاعري عار

---

[1] Cf.:

شمه از صفات شاه گیتي ستان شاه عباس خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه

چو سر افراشت از لطف الهي * لوائی دولت عباس شاهي
جهاں را خواب امن آمد بدیده * بعهد عافیت شد آرمیده
چناں دست ستم شد کوته ازخلق * که باشد ظلم زالي آستیں دلق
بدورانش که باد از چشم بد دور * ز مادر ظلم مي زاید ولی کور

[B.M. MSS., Or. 342, fol. 12a.]

[2] Ibid., foll. 11a and 12a.

[I am grateful to my friend, Dr. A. M. Nizāmiddīn (Nizām scholar), for having copied these lines for me on my request from the B. M. codex.]

ببیں کز بےخریداري دریں دور
چگونه شد بر ارباب سخن جور
که در ایراں کسے ناید پدیدار
که باشد جنس معني را خریدار
در ایران تلخ گشته کام جانم
ببايد شد سوے هندوستانم
همه طوطي مذاقان شکر خا
بملك هند ازاں کردند ماوا
بر آنم کوثري ابیات خود را
شده نازل ز عرش آیات خود را
چو قطره جانب عمان فرستم
متاع خود بهندستان فرستم
که نبود در سخن دانان دوراں
خریدار سخن جز خانخاناں
سخن را نیست جز او نکته سنجے
جهانرا همچو او آماده گنجے
بعالم هیچ کس ز اهل هنر نیست
که از دست سخایش بهرهور نیست

Complaint[1] for the inattention of the people of Īrān towards the possessors of meaning (*i.e.*, poets) :

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1 His complaint is of special value as proceeding from one who was a favourite of Shāh ʻAbbās, and a writer of elegies on the Imāms. Cf.:

In this dominion there is no purchaser of
speech,
No one is eagerly busy in the market of
speech ;
To speech value and weight remained not,
Nor for meaning any customer remained ;
From the greatest to the humblest, there is
not,
Any one whose heart is inclined to verse ;
So much valueless and insignificant has
become speech,
That today poetry and the profession of a
poet are a disgrace ;
See that owing to want of market in this age,
What tyranny was practised on the possessors
of speech ;
That in Persia no one appears,
Who is a customer of the commodity of mean-
ing ;
In Persia the palate of my soul has become
bitter,
Now go I ought towards Hindūstān ;
All the sugar-eating parrots,

"Mīr 'Āqil poetically surnamed '*Kausarī*,' was known for his devotion to the Imāms, which won him the favour of Shāh 'Abbās, I." [Rieu, Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the B.M., Vol. II., p 673.]

This emphatically disowns the theory sponsored by later Persian biographers and relied upon by Prof. Browne that the Shāh extended patronage exclusively to those who wrote in praise of the Imāms.

Have for this reason made their abode in
India ;
Kausarī, I am now determined that my verses,
Which are signs descended from the ninth
heaven ;
Like a drop towards the ocean I should send,
I should send my commodity to India ;
That there is not among the learned of
the age,
A customer of speech except the *Khān i
Khānān* ;
For discourse there is not a weigher of
subtle points except he,
For the world there is none like him a
ready treasure ;
In the universe there is none from among
the possessors of art,
Who is not profited by the hand of his
generosity.

This dullness of poetic market in Persia lasted for nearly three centuries, and was a contrast with India which, through its better appreciation and patronage, attracted all the topmost poets with only a few exceptions like Muhtasham Kāshī and Hakīm Shifā'ī. It was in fact with the appearance of Qajar dynasty, of which Fath 'Alī Shāh was the most conspicuous figure, that the market of poetry in Persia again became brisk. He extended his patronage to poets and himself wrote poetry under the pen-name '*Khāqān*.' This was the age when the Persian nobles and princes likewise extended their

Dullness of poetic market in Persia lasted for three centuries.

patronage to poets.[1] The result of this appreciation was that the fire of poetic genius of the nation, which had for so long burnt low in poets under sullen despondency, sparkled out once more and lit up the horizon of that country. Simultaneously with it, emigration to India considerably diminished.[2] The most notable poet that Persia in this new era produced was *Qā'ānī*, who is justly regarded both in India and Persia as the last great poet of Persian language.[3]

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[1] Cf.—
(i) Prince Hasan 'Alī Mīrzā "*Shujā 'us Saltanat,*" Governor of Khurāsān—patronised Qā'āni, Farūghī, and others.
(ii) Hājī Mīrzā Āqāsī, "*Nāīb us Saltanat*" Prime Minister of Muhammad Shāh—also a patron of poets.
(iii) Mīrzā Taqī Khān, better known as "*Amīr i Kabīr*" eulogised by Qā'ānī in numerous "*qasā'id*" for his munificent liberalities to poets.

[2] Cf. other causes :
(i) Gradual replacement of Persian by Urdū, and its official recognition as the court language under the English.
(ii) Patronage shown by the Mughal princes and other nobles to Urdū poets.

[3] The one prominent figure in modern Persian poetry, which begins roughly from the latter half of the 16th century A.D., is the epoch-making Qā'ānī the Shelley of Persia, as we may call him. No other poet is to be found in the whole range of Persian verse so rich in the vividness of imagery, the exquisite mastery over style, and above all, in the glow and verve of idiom and naturalness of simile and metaphor, as he. Qā'ānī's descriptions are some of the most consummate that exist in the Persian

The chief causes, which appear more likely to be at the root, were : (*i*) the attention of the Safawī to political, social, and above all, religious reform (which, being of a drastic and fanatical nature, led to a general persecution of the literati in Persia), on the one hand ; and (*ii*) the patronage shown by the Mughal in India, on the other. The Mughal

Main causes which were at the root.

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language. Every line of his displays that fulness of detail and eye for close observation which characterise his writings. His descriptive poems stand out not only in his own composition but in the Persian verse as a whole. His poetry is confined chiefly to *Qasīda*, *Khamsa*, *Qit'a* and *Mutā'iba*, on topics of love, natural scenery, and praises and satires of kings and dignitaries. A few lines from his *Khamsa* may be quoted here by way of specimen, which specially appeal to every student of Nature, a parallel of which is hard to find in the East among poets of Persian language, but is frequently met with in the West in English poets like Tennyson, Shelley, and Wordsworth :

دیدۂ نرگس بباغ باز چو سیماب شد
طرۂ سنبل براغ باز پر از تاب شد
آب فسردہ چو سیم باز چو سیماب شد
باد بهاری بجست زهرۂ دی آب شد
نیم شب آن بےخبر کرد ز بستان فرار
باز بر آمد بکوہ رایت ابر بهار
سیل فرو ریخت سنگ از زیر کوهسار
باز بجوش آمدند مرغ بچهان از نثار
فاخته و بوالملیح صلصل و کبک و هزار
طوطی و طاؤس و بط سیرہ و سرخاب و سار

Court offered a home not only to poets but to scholars of all shades of opinion, including professional men like physicians, calligraphists, and painters. A large number of them, who in Persia refused to accept the Shia faith forced upon them, had to go

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> The eye of narcissus in the garden shone again as bright as quicksilver,
> The forelock of hyacinth in the jungle became again full of curl ;
> The frozen water like silver once more melted into quicksilver,
> The spring breeze leapt, and the gall-bladder of autumn turned into water,
> In the dead of night it took its flight stealthily from the garden.
> Again, the banner of Spring cloud appeared on the summit of the mountain,
> The flood hurled down the stones from the top of the hills ;
> Again, the young birds rushed in glee from every nook,
> The dove, the grouse, the quail, the partridge, and the nightingale,
> The parrot, the peacock, the duck, the diver, the goose, and the crane.

The life-like picture depicted in conformity with Nature, the fiery poetical glow of language, and the introduction of original and quaint ideas even in such a common and world-wide subject as the appearance of the garden, during the dominion and sway of the vernal epoch, are qualities which had almost disappeared from the Persian composition in the 18th century. Along with the exquisite beauty of diction in the above descriptive sketch, Qā'ānī's presentation is absolutely free from unnatural exaggerations so common with poets in his day. His graphic sketch of *Nature* and her workings is such as might be

into exile. Some went to Turkey, and the Central Asian Provinces, but many came to India, to which they ever afterwards kept on emigrating,

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given by any English poet without hesitation. For example compare one stanza from the *Adonais* of Shelley :

The airs and streams renew their joyous tone ;
The ants, the bees, the swallows reappear ;
Fresh leaves and flowers deck the dead season's bier ;
The amorous birds now pair in every brake,
And build their mossy homes in field and brere ;
And the green lizard and the golden snake,
Like unimprisoned flames, out of their trance awake.

Qā'ānī's poetry with its wonderful ease and flow does not appear to belong to the era in which he lived, but exhibits a taste which prevailed in the early and the middle ages. His fidelity to nature combined with the charm of Rūdakī and Zahīr, the pathos of Nizāmī, and the vivacity and animation of Farrukhī and Manuchahrī, preponderates in his composition, and in this respect he appears to be a poet more of the 12th and 13th centuries than of the 19th when he actually lived. Even in his figurative indulgence, which is a characteristic of the 17th and 18th century poets, his supremacy over his colleagues is marked in so far as he has kept aloof from the vices rampant in their composition. His artistic display of the language, and his metaphor and simile have a charm and a reality which do not exist in the work of modern poets, and were long displaced by frivolous attempts at word and meaning, and the inordinate figurative touches which had disfigured the fair face of Persian poetry in the later age. In Qā'āni, therefore, we have a revival of the middle and early poetry, and he may be justly said to represent Farrukhī, Manuchahrī, and Zahīr in the 19th century.

being attracted by its superior literary support. It is by this process and the force of

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Qā'ānī's elegies are also famous for their originality of form, and style of address. They are a deviation from the old established path in a more conspicuous form than is exhibited in his panegyric poetry. Some specimen lines from his elegy on Imām Husain are quoted below :

بارد چه خون که دیدهٔ چسان روز و شب چرا
از غم کدام غم غم سلطان کربلا
نامش چه بود حسین ز نژاد که از علی
مامش که بود فاطمه جدش که مصطفی
چون شد شهید شد بکجا دشت ماریه
کے عاشر محرم پنهان نه برملا
شب کشته شد نه روز چه هنگام وقت ظهر
شد از جلو بریدهٔ سرش نی نی از قفا .
سیراب کشته شد نه کس آبش نداد داد
که شمر از چه چشمه ز سر چشمهٔ فنا
مظلوم شد شهید بلے جرم داشت نه
کارش چه بُد هدایه و یارش که بُد خدا

What rains? The blood; who rains? The eye; how? Day and night; why?
Out of grief; what grief? The grief for the Sultān of Kerbala,
What was his name? Husain; from whose parentage was he? From that of 'Alī,
Who was his mother? Fatima; who was his grandfather? The Prophet Muhammad.
What happened to him? He suffered martyrdom; where? In the desert of Marya,
When? On the 10th of Muharrum; secretly? Nay, publicly.

such circumstances, further strengthened by the ties of political and social inter-relations uniting the

Was he killed at night ? Nay, in the day ; what hour ?
At the hour of noon,
Was his head cut off from the front ? Nay, from behind.
Was he killed with his thirst quenched ? No ; did none
give him water ? Yes, they did,
Who did ? Shimr ; from what stream ? From the stream
of death.
Did he fall a martyr to oppression ? Aye ; had he (committed) any fault ? None,
What was his mission ? Guidance ; and who was his friend ?
GOD.

"Qā'ānī," says Browne, "is by general consent the most notable poet produced by Persia in the 19th century. He is one of the most melodious of all the Persian poets, and his command of the language is wonderful, but he lacks high aims and noble principles."

The latter remark of the learned critic is mainly due to the allegation that Qā'ānī was of short temper, and his pen did not desist from disparaging those whom he had once praised in his *qasā'id*. In support of this contention Browne quotes one instance of Hājī Mīrzā Āqāsī, who, during his supreme Governorship of Khurāsān, was extolled for his piety and justice by Qā'āni. But when the Mīrzā fell from power, having incurred the displeasure of the emperor Muhammad Shāh, and his Ministerial rank and authority passed on to another noble "*Lisān ul Mulk*" Mīrzā Taqī Khān, better known as "*Amīr i Kabīr*," Qā'āni, for reasons not yet fully disclosed, discredited the former and praised the latter thus :

خوشست کامشب اے صنم خوریم مے بیاد جم
کہ گشتہ دولت عجم قوي چو کوهسارها
ز سعي صدر نامور مهین امیر دادگر
کز و کشودہ باب و در ز حصن و ز حصارها

two countries that the court of the Mughal eventually became completely Persianised, and in fact every-

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بجاے ظالمے شقي نشستہ عادلے تقی
کہ مومنان متقي کنند افتخارها

It is pleasing tonight, O dear, that we drink wine in memory of Jamshīd,
Because the empire of Persia has become firm like a chain of mountains;
Through the efforts of our reputed Minister, the greatest Amīr and the giver of justice,
(From whom) the doors and gates of castles and fortresses are kept wide open;
In place of a cursed tyrant, sat a just and God-fearing person,
That the pious believers take pride in him.

Qā'ānī purged the Persian poetry from that irksome hyperbole and laboured and pedantic style which the later poets, during the last two centuries before him had commonly adopted as their motto. His verses are full of pathos and spontaneous and natural tendencies as opposed to a terse and affected style formed by clever devices, subtleties of figures of speech, and rhymed diction. His distinctive feature of writing, and the reforms he introduced in the art of versification, are summed up as follows :

(i) Abstention from fatuous and abortive exaggeration in his flight of thought as could be seen in the following lines reproduced here by way of sample :

درزورقی کہ دم زنی از حزم و احتیاط
او کار بادبان کند این کار لنگرا
غیر از رضاے شاہ کہ جوید بجان و دل
آید بچشم هر دو جهانش محقرا
بادش عدو نوان و بد اندیش ناتوان
دولت جوان و حکم روان یاربره[2]را

thing, language, custom, fashion, food and dress, was adopted after the Persian style and taste.

نصرت قرین و چرخ معین فتح همنشین
حاسد غمین و بخت سمین خصم لاغرا

وله

اي دست تو بخشندہ تر از ابر بمجلس
وي تیغ تو رخشندہ تر از برق بہیجا
گر صاعقۂ قہر تو بر کوہ بتابد
پیکان دمد اندر عوض خار ز خارا
یک شلہ مار است مرا روح بہ پیکر
یک بیشۂ خار است مرا موي بر اعضا

وله

ازاں سراب کہ گر بیندش کسے شب تار
کند نظارہ بظلمات آب حیواں را

(ii) Remarkable felicity of expression and naturalness of his simile and metaphor, as contained in the following lines:

ز خاک رستہ لالہا چو بسدیں پیالہا
ببرگ لالہ ژالہا چو در شفق ستارہا
ز ریزش سحابہا بر آبہا حبابہا
چو جوی نقرہ آبہا رواں در آبشارہا
در زلف تابدار او بچشم اشکبار من
چو چشمۂ کہ اند روشنا کنند مارہا
درختہاي بارور چو اشتران باربر
همي ز پشت یکدگر کشیدہ صف قطارہا
فراز سرو بوستاں نشستہ اند قمریاں
چو مقریاں نغز خوان بزمردیں منارہا
بنفشہ رستہ از زمین بطرف جویبارہا
و یا گسستہ حورعین ز زلف خویش تارہا
ز سنگ اگر ندیدۂ چساں جہد شرارہا
ببرگہاے لالہ بیں میاں لالہ زارہا
کہ چوں شرارہ مي جہد ز سنگ کوهسارہا

It is a fact, historically true, that the Persian language had not gained so complete a hold on the

(iii) His pun and figures of speech are more spontaneous, graceful, and dignified in character, than those of his contemporaries who are content merely with the ornate diction and display of words at the sacrifice of good taste. A few instances are quoted below :

کف کریمش از بس فتادہ در یتیم
یتیم ساختہ پروردگار عماں را

از آھوی سیمیں بستان آھوی زریں
تا خانہ چو مینو کنی از شاھد و مینا

آھوي بگیر ایں ھمہ کاھو بتو گیرند
آھو چہ کنی اے ھمہ شیراں بتو شیدا

بہ نوع انساں آنساں بود مباھاتش
کہ بر بہ سایر انواع نوع انساں را

سپہر کوکبہ صدرا توئی کہ کوکب تو
شکستہ کوکب ھفت آسماں گرداں را

(iv) Continuity and fulness in his description, with faithful representation of the subject, which is wonderfully attractive and appealing to heart :

اي رفتہ پئے صید غزالاں سوے صحرا
باز آ بسوي شہر پئے صید دل ما

گر تیر زني بر دل ما زن نہ بر آھو
در درم نھي در رہ ما نہ نہ بصحرا

نہ شہر کم از دشت و نہ ما کمتر از آھو
صید دل ماکن اگرت صید تمنا

آھوے بیابان نہ برد عھد بیاباں
مائیم کہ صیدیم و بقیدیم و شکیبا

اے آھوے انسي چہ کنی آھوء وحشی
ویں طرفہ کہ صیدی چہ کني صید تقاضا

مادر تو گریزیم و گریزد ز تو آھو
او صید تو غافل شدہ ما صید تو عمدا

Mughal court, nor on the people of Hindūstān, before

آهوے بگیراین همه کا هو بتو گیرند
آهو چه کني ای همه شیران بتو شیدا
چشمت چوبه آهو ست بجوا هو چشمی
مه روي و سخنگوی و سمن بري و سمن سا

وله

ماه رمضان آمد اے ترک سمن بر
برخیز و مرا سبحه و سجاده بیاور
و اسباب طرب را ببر از مجلس بیرون
زان پیش که ناگاه ثقیلي رسد از در
وان مصحف فرسوده که پارینه ز مجلس
بردی بشب عید و نیاوردي دیگر
باز آر و بده تاکه بخوانم دو سه سوره
غفران پدر خواهم و آمرزش مادر
مے خوردن این ماه روانیست که این ماه
فرمان خدا دارد و یرلیغ پیمبر
در روز حرام است به اجماع و لیکن
رندانه توان خورد به شب یکدوسه ساغر
بیش از دو سه ساغر نتوان خورد که تا صبح
بویش رود از کام و خمارش رود از سر
یا خورد بدان گونه بباید که ز مستي
تا شام دگر بر نتوان خاست ز بستر
تا خلق نگویند که می خورده فلاني
آرے چه خبر کس را از راز مستر
من مذهبم این است ولي وجه میم نیست
وین کار نیاید بجز از مرد توانگر
ناچار من و مصحف و سجاده و تسبیح
وان ورد شبانروزي و آن ذکر مقرر

(v) His productive, rich, and luxuriant style, with his wonderful command of the language, is more than what could be achieved by any Persian poet during the last two centuries

the advent of Bābur, which is synchronous with the

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before him. This is evident from the sweetness inherent in his poetry, and his uses of verbs with their auxiliaries in distinctive and varied meanings, which have acquired the bearing and stamp of idiom. For instance, he uses the verb افتد in so many flexible ways and with such clever turns that one cannot but admire his *ijtihad*. The following lines deserve special notice:

اے خوشا وقت کہ از غایت مستیش سخن
همچو سرما زدہ در کام بتکرار افتد
بے خطا گفتم و شاہ از همہ حال آگاہست
می نخواهد کہ همیں پردہ ز اسرار افتد
هم خداوند و هم شاہ از همہ حال آگاہست
ایں چنیں رندي و قلاشي بسیار افتد
چوں بر ابناے جهاں بار خدا ستار است
لاجرم سایۂ او باید ستار افتد

(vi) He was a genius, and proficient in three languages, Turkish, French, and Arabic and made a free use of their vocabulary in his poetical composition, more than any other poet of Persia ever did before.

(vii) He uses many redundant words (زوايد) with the air of a *Mujtahid*. Not only stray instances of same are to be met with in his poetry here and there, as is the case with other poets, but that he picks up a word and makes it a regular رديف e.g., cf., his long *qasīda* beginning with:

آمد بہ بزم دوش یکے سادہ پسر بر
و ز مشک فرو هشتہ دو گیسو بقمر بر

He also invented and introduced *stammering* poems, depicting in words the halting articulations, stops and rapid repetitions of a habitual stammerer. It was a bold step for him to take in the 19th century, which no other poet ventured before him

Safawi persecution, as it did afterwards.

(viii) The sweetness and melody inherent in his *qasīda* is most remarkable, and presents a new phase in the art of *qasīda-writing*, which originally belonged to *ghazal*.

(ix) He widened the scope of Persian poetry by allowing زحافه and admitting obsolete words and new sets of compounds and constructions in his composition, a step which befitted him as an امام or a recognised leader of poets.

(x) He is a great force in the field of 19th century Persian literature. His style characterised by freshness of expression, rejuvenation of thought, and naturalness of simile, is unique in the life and literature of Qajar Persia. Nay, the service rendered by him to Persian poetry as a whole, is most remarkable, and stands by itself.

(xi) He revived the poetry of the early and the middle age, and combined in his *qasīda* the . merits of Rūdakī Farrukhī, Manuchahrī, Anwarī, and Zāhīr, adding to them a charm all his own. He thus raised the standard and dignity of Persian poetry, which had fallen so low in Persia since after the coming away of Abu Tālib Kalīm to India, and is regarded as the *last great poet of Persian language*, a position justified by his prolific and many-sided genius.

(xii) In prose, his work "كتاب پريشان" written after the manner and style of Sa'di's *Gulistan*, is a reflection and a blot on his good name, and does him no credit as a prose-writer. It is full of scurrilous anecdotes, and reveals his easy life and freedom of thought which he loved so well.

CHAPTER IX

He was by nature tender-hearted and was inclined more and more, as he advanced in years, towards Sūfism and renunciation. His growing desire for the company of the devout, and his aversion to this material world, had manifested themselves too clearly on several occasions. His frequent visits to the tombs of saints, and his association with the Sūfis of the time, and taking auguries from the *Dīwan* of Hāfiz on important matters of state, domestic, and personal, was for the most part under the influence of the Indian atmosphere during his stay in Hindūstān, which was already a most noted country in the East for spiritual progress and the religious activities of its people. The Persian mysticism, since its very advent in India, had found a warm reception by the religious-minded populace ; and this joint working of Muslim thought with the Hindū zeal for devotional practices, aiming at the purification of the soul, had created a spiritual atmosphere, the effects of which no foreigner, however stiff-hearted and indifferent he might be, could escape. Jauhar, Gulbadan Begum, and other contemporary and later historians, have quoted instances of his pessimistic views. The one recorded by Abul Fazl is reproduced as follows :

Wave of pessimism in the latter part of his life due to the influence of religious atmosphere obtained in India.

[1] و اکثر اوقات بر زبان اقدس حضرت جهانبانی جنت آشیانی ذکر سفر ملك مقدس میگشت و بر عادت پسندیدهٔ خویش این معنی را که منافی خلاف عالم انتظام است مکروه داشته - مذکور مجلس عالی نمی شد درین ولا بذکر آن خوشوقت می گشتند - همانا که بر پیشگاه باطن غیب دان نقش آن پرتو انداخته بود ازانجمله روزے تصدیق و تحسین کلام حقیقت انجام گیتی ستانی فردوس مکانی میفرمودند که حضرت فردوس مکانی در محفل خود مذکور میفرمودند که فلان ملازم من میگفت که هرگاه خوابستان گورستان غزنین بنظر در می‌آید مرا میل مردن می شود و در تلوّ آن میفرمودند که ما چون دهلی و مزارت آنرا مشاهده می کنیم سخن او بیاد می آید که چه خوش میگفت و در همان نزدیکی که متوجه ملك بقا می شوند به بعضے از مستعدان خطاب می فرمودند که امروز بعد از فراغ عبادت سحری حالتے دست داده بود و ملهم غیبی این رباعی بر زبان داد

رباعی

یارب بکمال لطف خاصم گردان

واقف بحقایق خواصم گردان

[1] Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 435. (Mahārāja Patiāla edition, Lucknow, 1284 A.H.)

از عقل جفا کار دل افگار شدم
دیوانهٔ خود خوان وخلاصم گردان -

And often times passed on the holy tongue of the late king (whose abode is in Paradise), the talk of travel to the next world ; and against his old pleasing habit, this talk which is opposed to the orderly government of this world, and which he did not like to be mentioned in his sublime assembly before, he was pleased with its mention in these days. Verily, since on the heart of the secret-knowing king, the effects of such thoughts had already cast their shadows, therefrom the king did one day praise and vouchsafe for the truthful utterance of the late conqueror, *Firdaus-Makānī* (Bābur), saying, that *Firdaus-Makānī* once in his assembly mentioned that a certain servant of his said one day, "Whenever the sleeping Yard of the Cemetery of Ghaznī comes into my sight, I am inclined to die." And after this, the king added, "When I see Delhī and its tombs I recollect the speech of the late king—how nice and true he said !" And near about the time when he was to turn his face towards the eternal kingdom, he addressed to some of his attendants, "Today, after the morning prayers, something happened, and the angel of inspiration put this quatrain on my tongue :—

O God, with Thy plentiful grace select me
for Thy nearness,
Make me acquainted with the secrets of
Thy chosen people ;

Through my oppressive wisdom my heart
was rent,
Call me Thy mad lover, and free me from
all cares.''

His Sūfistic tendencies resembling those of an ardent recluse.

The extent to which he had allowed himself to be led by Sūfistic ideas is determined by his deeds of wilful surrender to Sūfistic dicta, and in endeavouring to tread in the path of attaining spiritual solace and viewing this world and its affairs with the detachment of a recluse. Like an ascetic he occasionally gave up meat-eating, and lived entirely on vegetables, in the hope of attaining that purity of soul and its secret link with the spirits of the saints, which, according to a class of thinkers, is the exclusive prerogative of the devout abstainers alone. Abul Fazl writes thus of Humāyūn's avowed abstinence from all animal food until his second conquest of Hindūstān, merely with the object of appeasing the saints and invoking their blessings for the success of his arms :

[1] و حضرت جهانبانی که از ابتداے این سفر مبارك
به دهلی و فتح هندوستان ترك تناول حیوانی فرموده
بتوجهات روحانی استفتاح می‌نمودند امروز کمال
انبساط بجاے آورده -

And his Majesty, the Warden of the world, who, from the beginning of this auspicious

[1] Ibid., p. 422.

journey until his reaching Delhī and the conquest of Hindūstān, having abstained from all animal food, sought victory through spiritual attentions, evinced the greatest pleasure today.

Along with his abstinence from the animal food, he also used to take auguries from the *Dīwān* of Hāfiz,[1]

---

[1] The practice of consulting omens from the *dīwān* of Hāfiz was prevalent in Persia also. The belief of the Persians in *tafāwul* was so great that they gave the names of *Lisān'-ul-Ghaib* (Invisible tongue), and *Tarjumān-ul-Asrār* (Interpreter of mysteries), to Hāfiz's *dīwān*. Like the Mughal emperors in India, the Persian royal house also, in spite of their disbelief in the Sunnī *tarīqat* and in Sūfīs, used to take auguries from the *dīwān* on important private and official matters. The *Lat‾'a i Ghaibiyya* (a book written by a Persian noble and poet of the town of Dārāb, printed at Tihrān in 1304 A.H.) mentions several instances of such auguries drawn from *Hāfiz* by the Persian kings. Cf.—

(i) Shāh Isma'īl I, the promulgator of the Shi'a faith in Persia, who even went to the length of destroying the tombs of Sūfīs, decided to consult Hāfiz's *dīwān* about the destruction of the latter's tomb. The result of this augury was the following verse :

جواز سحر نهاد حمایل، برابرم
یعنی غلام شاهم و سوگند می‌خورم

(ii) Shāh Tahmāsp one day lost his ring, and consulted *Hāfiz* which opened at the following verse ;

دلے کہ غیب نمایست وجام جم دارد
ز خاتمے کہ دمے گم شود چہ غم دارد

believing in their efficacy, just as the ancient Romans used to consult Vergil, when they were in doubt as to the proper course of action to be pursued by them. While yet in Cābul, after his return from Persia, he consulted the *dīwān* about his success in his impending attack on Hindūstān, to regain his lost kingdom from Shēr Shāh. A detailed account of this augury and his personal faith in its efficacy, is given in the following extract :

His taking auguries from *dīwān-i-Hāfiz* and his belief in their bearing fruit: a practice prevalent among the people of Hindūstān, and ardently followed by his successors in India.

[1]عنان عزیمت والا بصوب صواب ممالك هندوستان معطوف فرمودند و آن نور پرورده ایزدی یعنی حضرت

(iii) Similarly, Shāh Abbās II, like Humāyūn, once took an augury from Hāfiz's *dīwān* regarding the conquest of Azarbāijān, of which the capital is Tabrīz. The following verse was the remarkable response :

عراق و فارس گرفتی بشعر خود حافظ
بیا که نوبت بغداد و وقت تبریز است

1. Ibid., p. 409.

NOTE.—The difference in the Persian and the Indian method of taking auguries may be noted :—In India, the popular method is to open the *dīwān*, after reciting *fātiha* with or without *durūd*, and invoking its blessings on the departed soul of Hāfiz. The first verse of the open page on the right is generally taken as Hāfiz's response to the query. If the answer is not clear, the 7th line of the same page is the next best verse to be counted upon. But if neither gives satisfaction, six further pages are turned, and the first verse of the 7th page is accepted as final.

شاهنشاهي را که که عمر عنصري آنحضرت دران هنگام سعادت پیراي دوازده سال و هشت ماه بود و عقل کامل آن بزرگ کونیں از احاطهٔ احصا افزون مقدمه جیش فتوحات صوري و معنوی ساخته باد پاي اقبال را بجولان در آوردند و در روز توجه عالي بدیوان لسان الغیب تبرك و تفاول جستند چون امرے عظیم از پردهٔ غیب و جلباب خفا جلوه ظهور می‌نماید منادیان بشارت از انفس و آفاق بهزار زبان بلند آوازه مي کردند ازانجمله این شاه بیت قدسی عبارت برسر صفحه اولی که سر نوشت پیشاني دولت تواند شد عنواني منشور فتح نمود -

شعر حافظ

دولت از مرغ همایون طلب و سایهٔ او
زانکه با زاغ و زغن شهپر همت نبود

اگر چه خرده مندان عالم معامله داني این کلام حقیقت ترجمان را بر دولت و نصرت حضرت جهانباني بشارتي شایسته خیال نموده بهجت آراي محفل سعادت

In Persia the method of opening the *dīwān* at random is more common, and the condition of reciting *fātiha* is not considered necessary, though *durūd* is generally read simultaneously with opening the book. Some take the first line on which the eye falls, be it on the right or on the left page ; while others consider the first verse of the ode, which begins on the right page, as the proper answer.

شدند اما دوربینان بارگاه دانش فحواي اين نظم
بديع را نويد خلافت كبرى و مژدهٔ سلطنت عظمى
حضرت شهنشاهي دريافته بر در انتظار طيران علو
اين طاير قدسي اقامت فرمودند و حضرت جهانبانى
اعتصام به عروة الوثقاى عنايت الهي و استمساك به
حبل المتين بشارت آسماني نموده با اندكي از مردم
كه بسه هزار كشند بمعاضدت بسيارى از جنود غيبي
كه بشمار محاسبان عقول نگنجد نهضت فرمودند -

In the above-quoted extract one could see the wonderful effect exercised by the miraculous verse of Hāfiz. Not only it filled the heart of Humāyūn and his generals with hope, but that the confidence it infused was so great that he marched without even adequate preparation with a number less than 3000 foot and cavalry all told,[1] on such a big mission as the re-conquest of Hindūstān.

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[1] This original figure was substantially increased later, and many more joined him on his way to Hindūstān. The warring factions in India, jealous of one another's power, were a great incentive to Humāyūn, who entered the country unopposed, and marched as far as Lahore without facing any great opposition. Other natural factors were the death of Salīm, the powerful Pathān King, and the invitation sent to Humāyūn by the discontented *Umara* of Delhī and Āgra to come to Hindūstān and occupy his father's throne. Almost all the tribes of the Pathāns were engaged in the civil war. It was therefore the most opportune moment for Humāyūn to return.

One day, when he was out for hunting in Cābul, he expressed to his nobles the anxiety of his mind to regain his lost throne, and consulted them as to the advisability of leading an attack on India with the meagre men and material he could collect. Those who had lived in India in the heyday of his fortune, and enjoyed the comfort and wealth of the country, offered to consult the old method of divination, *viz.*, to send a courier ahead, who should go and return after taking down the names of the first three persons he meets. The king readily consented to this and sent three horsemen, instead of one, all in the direction of Hindūstān but separate from one another, who were to return immediately after meeting the first person each, and report to him their names individually. The first brought the news that he met a trader named دولت *fortune.* The other said that he met a traveller by name, مراد *object of the heart.* The third reported that he came across a peasant whose name was سعادت *auspiciousness.* The conclusion drawn was that the king should immediately start upon his campaign, unmindful of the number of his army, as success was sure to attend on him. He therefore put himself to this task at once and invited recruits who readily responded to his call under the said belief. Thus in the month of Safar in 962 A.H., he marched from Cābul, and was joined by many veteran soldiers on his way to Hindūstān.

His reading omens in the phenomena of *Nature*, and his belief in their symbolic truth.

His keen sense of giving justice to the poor against the high-handedness of the officials had led

Invention of *tabl-i-'adl*, a mode of giving justice which was later adopted by his grandson, Jahāngīr, in the form of *zanjīr-i-'adl.*

to the invention of *tabl-i-'adl* (or drum of justice), which he had ordered to be placed in the outside corridor of the royal palace. Any one from the highest to the humblest in life could approach him without fear of molestation, and use that drum to draw the attention of the king in person, towards the tyranny shown to him by any official, enemy, robber, or noble of the court. This mode of giving justice was appreciated and copied by his successors in India, the most notable among whom was his grandson, Jahāngīr. He had a gold chain measuring 30 *zira'*[1] in length, with 60 bells, one end of which was tied to the parapet of the royal dome of his fort at Āgra, and the other to a mile-stone fixed on the bank of the Jamuna.[2] Humāyūn's *drum of Justice* is

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[1] A Persian yard.

[2] Cf. Jahāngīr's own statement :

بعد از جلوس اولین حکمي که از من صادر گشت بستن زنجیر
عدل بود که اگر متصدیان مهمات دارالعدالت در داد خواهي و غور
رسي ستم رسیدگان و مظلومان اهمال و مداهنت ورزند آن مظلومان
خود را بدین زنجیر رسانیده سلسله جنبان گردند تا صداے آن باعث
آگاهي گردد – وضع آن برین نهج است – از طلاي ناب فرمودم
زنجیری سازند طولش سی ذراع مشتملبر شصت زنگ – وزن آن
چهارمن............یک سرش برکنگرۀ شاه برج قلعه آگره استوار
ساخته سر دیگر تاکنارۀ دریا برده بر میل سنگین که نصب شده بود
محکم ساختند –

[Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī]

described with its details of procedure by Abul Fazl as follows :—

[1] و از مخترعات آنحضرت طبل عدل بود که اگر دادخواهي
را با کسے مخاصمت مي شد يك نوبت چوب بر طبل
ميزد و اگر تظلم او از عدم وصول علوفه بود دو نوبت
آں کار ميکرد و اگر ما و جهات اورا ظالمے غصب کرده بود يا
دزد برده سه نوبت طبل را بفغاں آوردے و اگر با کسے
دعوي خون داشتے چهار نوبت صداے طبل را بلند
گردانيدے

And from amongst the inventions of his Majesty was the *drum of Justice* to the effect that if any seeker of redress had enmity with any one, he would strike the *drum* with the stick once ; and if he was oppressed for not supplying fodder, he would do this act twice ; and if his articles of subsistence were seized by some tyrant, or carried off by some thief, he would make the *drum* sound thrice ; and if against some one he had a claim for shedding blood (murder of his kinsmen), he would cause the *drum* to sound loud four times.

His general character.

His generosity and benevolence were great ; and his clemency for his brothers, who proved a constant source of trouble and a menace to the peaceful government of his empire, was extraordinary, and carried beyond

[1] Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, pp. 434-35. (Mahārāja Patiāla edition, Lucknow, 1284 A.H.)

the limits of prudence and justice which he owed to the State. He was a lover of learning and a patron of poets and prose-writers of his day. He inherited from his father the poetic genius which is displayed in his *masnawī*, *rubā'ī*, and other metrical compositions. He was unostentatiously religious and his faith in providence was remarkable. In his days of fortune as well as in distress he did not lose the balance of mind, and remained happy in his submission to the will of God. In exile, when he was persuaded to embrace the Shi'a faith, in return for the promised Persian help to reinstate him on his lost throne of Hindūstān, he had uttered the following :

[1]ما بدین خود قایم مقام هستیم، آمدیم، و ما را
چندان آرزوے پادشاهي هم نیست و هرچه هست بارادۀ
خداے عزوجل است، دل خود را به او بسته ایم -

> We are firm in our religion. We came ; and we do not even entertain much desire for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God, the Great and the High. We have bound our heart to Him.

In battle he was valiant, and in peace his forgiving nature never yielded to any strict measures which the times demanded, not so much through weakness of mind as through gentleness and nobility of spirit.

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[1] Jauhar, B. M. MSS., Add. 16, 711, fol. 71b.

During his flight through the sandy desert of Sindh, when his men were almost dying with thirst and every one ran mad for water, news arrived of Shēr Shāh's troops' near approach. Humāyūn, at this juncture, ordered all his men, who were in a fit condition, to halt and engage the enemy in battle; while the rest whose condition was sore were directed to move forward to a safe distance with women and children 115 in number. He kept the command of the fighting force directly in his own hands, and rode in front like a warrior giving heart to his tired, unwilling, and ill-equipped men. The enemy, however, did not appear on the scene, and Humāyūn rode back to the female section to communicate the good news of the enemy's non-appearance.

His chivalry.

Even in his fall he was great, and showed the same elevation of character as he did when he wore a crown.

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